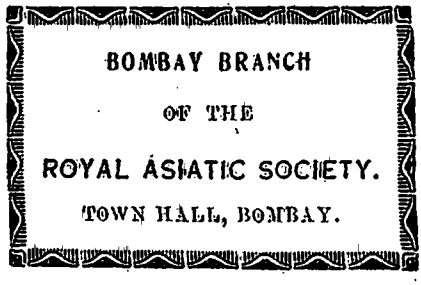

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R. BURTON DELT.

THE PILGRIM.

HANHART LITH.

# PERSONAL NARRATIVE

OF A

# PILGRIMAGE TO EL-MEDINAH AND MECCAH.

32715

BY RICHARD F. BURTON,

LIEUTENANT BOMBAY ARMY.

"Our notions of Mecca must be drawn from the Arabians; as no unbeliever is permitted to enter the city, our travellers are silent." — *Gibbon*, chap. 50.




IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. II. — EL-MEDINAH.

LONDON:

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1855.

[*The Author reserves to himself the right of authorizing a Translation of this Work.*]

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New-street-Square.

أَللَّيْلُ وَالْخَيْلُ وَالْبَيْدَاءُ تَعْرِفُنِي

وَالسَّيْفُ وَالضَّيْفُ وَالْقِرْطَاسُ وَالْقَلَمُ

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| *Page* | *Line* | *For* | *Read* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 11. | 3. | Irene | Irem. |
| 18. | 1. | rock | rude. |
| 19. | 14. | shoot | shade. |
| 92. | 8. | Registrar | Requiter. |
| 101. | 23. | had | have. |
| " | 26. | Bal | Bab. |
| 102. | 3. | was | is |
| 111. | 26. | I had among | I had placed among. |
| 32. | 23. | Barrel | Barr el. |




## References

1. The Barrier or Prophets Mosque
2. Trellised Area to North
3. Palace of Principal Officers of Mosque
4. Street leading to the Bab el Salam (If to the principal Entrance)
5. Great Court El Salah
6. A Wahdah
7. The Barrier Gate
8. The Hyenahs Gate
9. The Jerusalem Gate
10. The Mirrh Egyptian Gate
11. The Bab el Rumeyrah (Rumeyrah Gate)
12. The Bab el Jebrail or Gate of Gabriel
13. The Bab el Sakhrah or Rock Gate
14. Sakhrah's Cemetery
15. Tomb of Abu Zaid
16. Tombs of the Sheikhs
17. Sakhrah's Tomb
18. Tomb of Abu Bekr
19. Tomb of Omar
20. Tomb of Fatimah
21. Tomb of Hamzah
22. Tomb of Abbas
23. Tomb of Aakil
24. Tomb of Ali
25. Tomb of Hasan
26. Tomb of Hosayn
27. Tomb of Zeyn el Abidin
28. Tomb of Mohammed el Bakir
29. Tomb of Jaafar el Sadik
30. Tomb of Musa el Kazim
31. Tomb of Ali el Reza
32. Tomb of Mohammed el Jawad
33. Tomb of Ali el Hadi
34. Tomb of Hasan el Askari
35. Tomb of Mohammed el Mahdi
36. Tomb of Khadijah
37. Tomb of Ayesha
38. Tomb of Fatimah
39. Tomb of Hafsah
40. Tomb of Zeynab
41. Tomb of Umm Habibah
42. Tomb of Umm Salamah
43. Tomb of Maymunah
44. Tomb of Juwayriyah
45. Tomb of Safiyah
46. Tomb of Sawdah
47. Tomb of Zeynab
48. Tomb of Rukayyah
49. Tomb of Umm Kulsum
50. Tomb of Fatimah
51. Tomb of Ibrahim
52. Tomb of Abdallah
53. Tomb of Amenah
54. Tomb of Halimah
55. Tomb of Abdallah
56. Tomb of Abd el Muttalib
57. Tomb of Abu Talib
58. Tomb of Abd el Uzza
59. Tomb of Abd Manaf
60. Tomb of Kusay
61. Tomb of Abd el Dar
62. Tomb of Kilab
63. Tomb of Murrah
64. Tomb of Kaab
65. Tomb of Lowayy
66. Tomb of Ghalib
67. Tomb of Fihr
68. Tomb of Malik
69. Tomb of Nazar
70. Tomb of Maad
71. Tomb of Adnan

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# A PILGRIMAGE

TO

# EL MEDINAH AND MECCAH.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### FROM BIR ABBAS TO EL MEDINAH.

THE 22nd of July was a grand trial of temper to our little party. The position of Bir Abbas exactly resembles that of El Hamra, except that the bulge of the hill-girt Jumara is at this place about two miles wide. "There are the usual stone forts and palm-leaved hovels for the troopers," stationed here to hold the place and to escort travellers, with a coffee-shed, and a hut or two, called a bazaar, but no village. The encamping ground was a bed of loose sand, with which the violent simoom wind filled the air: not a tree or a bush was in sight; a species of hardy locust and swarms of flies were the only remnants of animal life: the

scene was a caricature of Sindh. Although we were now some hundred feet, to judge by the water-shed, above the level of the sea, the mid-day sun scorched even through the tent; our frail tenement was more than once blown down, and the heat of the sand made the work of repitching it a painful one. Again my companions, after breakfasting, hurried to the coffee-house, and returned one after the other with dispiriting reports. Then they either quarrelled desperately about nothing, or they threw themselves on their rugs, pretending to sleep for very sulkiness. The Lady Maryam soundly rated her surly son for refusing to fill his chibouque for the twelfth time that morning with the usual religious phrases, "Ali direct thee into the right way, O my son!"—meaning that he was going to the bad,—and "O my calamity, thy mother is a lone woman, O Allah!"—equivalent to the European parental plaint about grey hairs being brought down in sorrow to the grave. Before noon a small caravan which followed us came in with two dead bodies,—a trooper shot by the Bedouins, and an Albanian killed by sun-stroke, or the fiery wind.*

* The natives of El Hejaz assured me that in their Allah-favoured land, the Simoom never kills a man. I "doubt the fact." This Arnaut's body was swollen and decomposing

Shortly after mid-day a Cafila, travelling in an opposite direction, passed by us; it was composed chiefly of Indian pilgrims, habited in correct costume, and hurrying towards Meccah in hot haste. They had been allowed to pass unmolested, because probably a pound sterling could not have been

rapidly, the true diagnostic of death by the poison-wind. (See Ibn Batuta's voyage, "Kabul.") However, as troopers drink hard, the Arabs may still be right, the Simoom doing half the work, arrack the rest. I travelled during the months of July, August, and September, and yet never found myself inconvenienced by the "poison-wind" sufficiently to make me tie my kufiyah, Bedouin-fashion, across my mouth. At the same time I can believe that to an invalid it would be trying, and that a man almost worn out by hunger and fatigue would receive from it a *coup de grace.*

Niebuhr attributes the extraordinary mortality of his companions, amongst other causes, to a want of stimulants. Though these might doubtless be useful in the cold weather, or in the mountains of El-Yemen, for men habituated to them from early youth, yet nothing, I believe, would be more fatal than strong drink when travelling through the Desert in summer heat. The common beverage should be water or lemonade; the strongest stimulants coffee or tea. It is what the natives of the country do, and doubtless it is wise to take their example. The Duke of Wellington's dictum about the healthiness of India to an abstemious man does not require to be quoted. Were it more generally followed, we should have less of sun-stroke and sudden death in our Indian armies, when soldiers, fed with beef and brandy, are called out to face the violent heat.

collected from a hundred pockets, and Saad the robber sometimes does a cheap good deed. But our party having valuables with them did not seem to gather heart from this event. In the evening we all went out to see some Arab Shaykhs who were travelling to Bir Abbas in order to receive their salaries. Without such *douceurs*, it is popularly said and believed, no stone walls could enable a Turk to hold El Hejaz against the hill men. Such was our system in Afghanistan—most unwise, teaching *in limine* the subject to despise rulers subject to black-mail. Besides which these highly paid Shaykhs do no good. When a fight takes place or a road is shut, they profess inability to restrain their clansmen, and the richer they are, of course the more formidable they become. The party looked well; they were Harbis, dignified old men in the picturesque Arab costume, with erect forms, fierce thin features, and white beards, well armed, and mounted upon high-bred and handsomely equipped dromedaries from El Shark.*

* El Shark, "the East," is the popular name in the Hejaz for the western region as far as Baghdad and Bussora, especially Nijd. The latter province supplies the Holy Land with its choicest horses and camels. The great heats of the parts near the Red Sea appear prejudicial to animal generation;

Preceded by their half-naked clansmen, carrying spears twelve or thirteen feet long, garnished with single or double tufts of black ostrich feathers, and ponderous matchlocks, which were discharged on approaching the fort, they were not without a kind of barbaric pomp.

Immediately after the reception of these Shaykhs, there was a parade of the Arnaut Irregular horse. About 500 of them rode out to the sound of a *nakús* or little kettle-drum, whose puny notes strikingly contrasted with this really martial sight. The men, it is true, were mounted on lean Arab and Egyptian nags, were ragged looking as their clothes, and each trooper was armed in his own way, though all had swords, pistols and matchlocks, or firelocks of some kind. But they rode hard as Galway squireens, and there was a gallant reckless look about the fellows which prepossessed me strongly in their favour. Their animals, too, though notable "screws," were well trained, and their accoutrements were intended for use, not show. I watched their manœuvres with curiosity.

whereas the lofty table-lands and the broad pastures of Nijd, combined with the attention paid by the people to purity of blood, have rendered it the greatest breeding country in Arabia.

They left their cantonments one by one, and, at the sound of the tom-tom, by degrees formed a "plump" or "herse"—*column** it could not be called—all huddled together in confusion. Presently the little kettle-drum changed its note and the parade its aspect. All the serried body dispersed as Light Infantry would, continuing their advance, now hanging back, then making a rush, and all the time keeping up a hot fire upon the enemy. At another signal they suddenly put their horses to full speed, and, closing upon the centre, again advanced in a dense mass. After three quarters of an hour parading, sometimes charging singly, often in bodies, now to the right, then to the left, and then straight in front, when requisite halting and occasionally retreating, Parthian-like, the Arnauts turned *en masse* towards their lines. As they neared them all broke off and galloped in, *ventre à terre*, discharging their shotted guns with much recklessness against objects assumed to

* I mean a civilised column. "Herse" is the old military name for a column opposed to "haye," a line. So we read that at far-famed Çressy the French fought *en battaille à haye*, the English drawn up *en herse*. This appears to have been the national predilection of that day. In later times, we and our neighbours changed style, the French preferring heavy columns, the English extending themselves into lines.

denote the enemy. But ball cartridge seemed to be plentiful hereabouts; during the whole of this and the next day, I remarked that bullets were fired away in mere fun.*

Barbarous as these movements may appear to the Cavalry Martinet of the "good old school," yet to something of the kind will the tactics of that arm of the service, I humbly opine, return, when the perfect use of the rifle, the revolver, and field artillery shall have made the present necessarily slow system a fatal one. Also, if we adopt the common-

* The Albanians, delighting in the noise of musketry, notch the ball in order to make it sing the louder. When fighting, they often adopt the excellent plan—excellent, when rifles are not procurable—of driving a long iron nail through the bullet, and fixing its head into the cartridge. Thus the cartridge is strengthened, the bullet is rifled, and the wound which it inflicts is a fatal one. Round balls are apt to pass into and out of savages without killing them, and many an Afghan, after being shot or run through the body, has mortally wounded his English adversary before falling. It is false philanthropy, also, to suppose that in battle, especially when a campaign is commencing, it is sufficient to maim, not to kill the enemy. Nothing encourages men to fight so much, as a good chance of escaping with a wound—especially a flesh wound.

I venture to hope that the reader will not charge these sentiments with cruelty. He who renders warfare fatal to all engaged in it will be the greatest benefactor the world has yet known.

sense opinion of a modern writer*, and determine that "individual prowess, skill in single combats, good horsemanship, and sharp swords render cavalry formidable," these semi-barbarians are wiser in their generation than the civilised, who never practise arms (properly so called), whose riding-drill never made a good rider, whose horses are over-weighted, and whose swords are worthless. They have another point of superiority over us,— they cultivate the individuality of the soldier, whilst we strive to make him a mere automaton. In the days of European chivalry, battles were a system of well fought duels. This was succeeded by the age of discipline, when, to use the language of Rabelais, "men seemed rather a consort of organ-pipes, or mutual concord of the wheels of a clock, than an infantry and cavalry, or army of soldiers." Our aim should now be to combine the merits of both systems; to make men individually excellent in the use of weapons, and yet to train them to act naturally and habitually in concert. The French have given a model to Europe in the Chasseurs de Vincennes,— a body capable of most perfect combination, yet never more truly excellent

* Captain Nolan.

than when each man is fighting alone. We, I suppose, shall imitate them at some future time.*

A distant dropping of fire-arms ushered in the evening of our first melancholy day at Bir Abbas. This, said my companions, was a sign that the troops and the hill-men were fighting at no great distance. They communicated the intelligence, as if it ought to be an effectual check upon my impatience to proceed; it acted, however, in the contrary way. I supposed that the Bedouins, after battling out the night, would be less warlike the next day; the others, however, by no means agreed in opinion with me. At Yambu the whole party

* The first symptom of improvement will be a general training to the bayonet exercise. The British is, and for years has been, the only army in Europe that does not learn the use of this weapon: how long does it intend to be the sole authority on the side of ignorance? We laughed at the Calabrese levies, who in the French war threw away their muskets and drew their stilettos; and we cannot understand why the Indian would always prefer a sabre to a rifle. Yet we read without disgust of our men being compelled, by want of proper training, to "club their muskets" in hand-to-hand fights,—when they have in the bayonet the most formidable of offensive weapons,—and of the Kafirs and other savages wresting the piece, after drawing off its fire, from its unhappy possessor's grasp.

had boasted loudly that the people of El Medinah could keep their Bedouins in order, and had twitted the boy Mohammed with their superiority in this respect to his townsmen, the Meccans. But now that a trial was impending I saw none of the fearlessness so conspicuous when the peril was only possible. The change was charitably to be explained by the presence of their valuables; the "*sahharahs*," like conscience, making cowards of them all. But the young Meccan, who, having sent on his box by sea from Yambu to Jeddah, felt merry, like the empty traveller, would not lose the opportunity to pay off old scores. He taunted the Medinites till they stamped and raved with fury. At last fearing some violence, and feeling that I was answerable for the boy's safety to his family,—having persuaded him to accompany me on the journey,—seizing him by the nape of his neck and the upper posterior portion of his nether garments, I drove him before me into the tent.

When the hubbub had subsided and all sat smoking the pipe of peace after supper in the cool night air, I rejoined my companions, and found them talking, as usual, about old Shaykh Saad. The scene was appropriate for the subject. In the distance rose the blue peak said to be his eyrie, and with fearful

meaning the place was pointed out. As it is inaccessible to strangers, report has converted it into another garden of Irene. A glance, however, at its position and formation satisfied me that the bubbling springs, the deep forests, and the orchards of apple trees, quinces and pomegranates, with which my companions furnished it, were a "myth," whilst some experience of Arab ignorance of the art of defence, suggested to me strong doubts about the existence of an impregnable fortress on the hill-top. The mountains, however, looked beautiful in the moonlight, and distance gave them a semblance of mystery well suited to the themes connected with them.

That night I slept within my shugduf, for it would have been mere madness to lie on the open plain in a place so infested by banditti. The being armed is but a poor precaution near this robbers' haunt. If a man be wounded in the very act of plundering, an exorbitant sum must be paid for blood-money. If you kill him, even to save your life, then adieu to any chance of escaping destruction. I was roused three or four times during the night by jackals and dogs prowling about our little camp, and thus observed that my companions, who had agreed amongst themselves

to keep watch by turns, had all fallen into a sound sleep. However, when we awoke in the morning the usual inspection of goods and chattels showed that nothing was missing.

The next day was a forced halt, a sore stimulant to the traveller's ill-humour; and the sun, the sand, the dust, the furious simoom, and the want of certain small supplies, aggravated our grievance. My sore foot had been inflamed by a dressing of onion skin which the Lady Maryam had insisted upon applying to it.* Still I was resolved to push forward by any conveyance that could be procured, and offered ten dollars for a fresh dromedary to take me on to El Medinah. Shaykh Hamid also declared he would leave his box in charge of a friend and accompany me. Saad the Devil flew into a passion at the idea of any member of the party escaping the general evil, and he privily threatened Mohammed to cut off the legs of any camel that ventured into camp. This, the boy,—who, like a boy of the world as he was, never lost an

* I began to treat it hydropathically with a cooling bandage, but my companions declared that the water was poisoning the wound, and truly it seemed to get worse every day. This idea is prevalent throughout El Hejaz; even the Bedouins, after once washing a cut or a sore, never allow air or water to touch it.

opportunity of making mischief,—instantly communicated to me, and it brought on a furious dispute. Saad was reproved and apologised for by the rest of the party, and presently he himself was pacified, principally, I believe, by the intelligence that no camel was to be hired at Bir Abbas. One of the Arnaut garrison, who had obtained leave to go to El Medinah, came to ask us if we could mount him, as otherwise he should be obliged to walk the whole way. With him we debated the propriety of attempting a passage through the hills by one of the many bye-paths that traverse them: the project was amply discussed, and duly rejected.

We passed the day in the usual manner; all crowded together for shelter under the tent—even Maryam joined us, loudly informing Ali, her son, that his mother was no longer a woman but a man — whilst our party generally, cowering away from the fierce glances of the sun, were either eating or occasionally smoking, or were occupied in cooling and drinking water. About sunset-time came a report that we were to start that night. None could believe that such good was in store for us; before sleeping, however, we placed each camel's pack apart, so as to be ready for loading at a moment's notice, and we took care to watch

that our Bedouins did not drive their animals away to any distance. At last about 11 P. M., as the moon was beginning to peep over the eastern wall of rock, was heard the glad sound of the little kettle-drum calling the Albanian troopers to mount and march. In the shortest possible time all made ready, and hurriedly crossing the sandy flat, we found ourselves in company with three or four caravans, forming one large body for better defence against the dreadful Hawamid.* By dint of much manœuvring, arms in hand—Shaykh Hamid and the "Devil" took the prominent parts —we, though the last comers, managed to secure places about the middle of the line. On such occasions all push forward recklessly, as an English mob in the strife of sight-seeing; the rear, being left unguarded, is the place of danger, and none seek the honour of occupying it.

We travelled that night up the fiumara in an easterly direction, and at early dawn found ourselves in an ill-famed gorge called Shuab el Haj † (the

* Hawámid is the plural of Hamidah, Shaykh Saad's tribe.

† Shuab properly means a path through mountains, or a watercourse between hills. It is generally used in Arabia for a "valley," and sometimes instead of Nakb, or the Turkish Bughaz, a "pass."

"Pilgrim's Pass." The loudest talkers became silent as we neared it, and their countenances showed apprehension written in legible characters. Presently from the high precipitous cliff on our left thin blue curls of smoke,— somehow or other they caught every eye, — rose in the air, and instantly afterwards rang the loud sharp cracks of the hill-men's matchlocks, echoed by the rocks on the right. My shugduf had been broken by the camels falling during the night, so I called out to Mansúr that we had better splice the frame-work with a bit of rope: he looked up, saw me laughing, and with an ejaculation of disgust disappeared. A number of Bedouins were to be seen swarming like hornets over the crests of the rocks, boys as well as men carrying huge weapons, and climbing with the agility of cats. They took up comfortable places in the cut-throat eminence, and began firing upon us with perfect convenience to themselves. The height of the hills and the glare of the rising sun prevented my seeing objects very distinctly, but my companions pointed out to me places where the rock had been scarped, and a kind of breast-work of rough stones—the Sangah of Afghanistan, piled up as a defence, and a rest for the long barrel of the matchlock. It was useless to challenge the

Bedouins to come down and fight us upon the plain like men; they will do this on the eastern coast of Arabia, but rarely, if ever, in El Hejaz. And it was equally unprofitable for our escort to fire upon a foe ensconced behind stones. Besides which, had a robber been killed, the whole country would have risen to a man; with a force of 3,000 or 4,000, they might have gained courage to overpower a caravan, and in such a case not a soul would have escaped. As it was, the Bedouins directed their fire principally against the unhappy Albanians. Some of these called for assistance to the party of Shaykhs that accompanied us from Bir Abbas, but the dignified old men, dismounting and squatting round their pipes in council, came to the conclusion that, as the robbers would probably turn a deaf ear to their words, they had better spare themselves the trouble of speaking. We had therefore nothing to do but to blaze away as much powder, and to veil ourselves in as much smoke as possible; the result of the affair was that we lost twelve men, besides camels and other beasts of burden. Though the bandits showed no symptoms of bravery, and confined themselves to slaughtering the enemy from their hill-top, my companions seemed to

consider this questionable affair a most gallant exploit.

After another hour's hurried ride through the Wady Sayyalah appeared Shuhada, to which we pushed on,

> "Like nighted swain on lonely road,
> When close behind fierce goblins tread."

Shuhada is a place which derives its name "The Martyrs," because here are supposed to be buried forty braves that fell in one of Mohammed's many skirmishes. Some authorities consider it the cemetery of the people of Wady Sayyalah.* The once populous valley is now barren, and one might easily pass by the consecrated spot without observing a few ruined walls and a

* Others attribute these graves to the Beni Salim, or Salmah, an extinct race of Hejazi Bedouins. Near Shuhada is Jebel Warkan, one of the mountains of Paradise, also called Irk el Zabyat, or Thread of the Winding Torrent. The Prophet named it "Hamt," (sultriness), when he passed through it on his way to the battle of Bedr. He also called the valley "Sejasaj," (plural of Sajsaj, a temperate situation), declared it was a valley of heaven, that 70 prophets had prayed there before himself, that Moses with 70,000 Israelites had traversed it on his way to Meccah, and that, before the Resurrection day, Isa ben Maryam should pass through it with the intention of performing the greater or the lesser pilgrimage. Such are the past and such the future honours of the place.

cluster of rock graves of the Bedouins, each an oval of rough stones lying beneath the thorn trees on the left of and a little off the road. Another half hour took us to a favourite halting-place, Bir El Hindi*, so called from some forgotten Indian who dug a well there. But we left it behind, wishing to put as much space as we could between our tents and the nests of the Hamidah. Then quitting the fiumara, we struck northwards into a well-trodden road running over stony rising ground. The heat became sickening; here, and in the East generally, at no time is the sun more dangerous than between 8 and 9 A. M.: still we hurried on. It was not before 11 A. M. that we reached our destination, a rugged plain covered with stones, coarse gravel, and thorn trees in abundance, and surrounded by inhospitable rocks, pinnacle-shaped, of granite below, and in the upper parts fine lime-stone. The well was at least two miles distant,

* The Indians sink wells in Arabia for the same reason which impels them to dig tanks at home,—"nam ke waste,"—"for the purpose of name;" thereby denoting, together with a laudable desire for posthumous fame, a notable lack of ingenuity in securing it. For it generally happens that before the third generation has fallen, the well and the tank have either lost their original names, or have exchanged them for newer and better known ones.

and not a hovel was in sight: a few Bedouin children belonging to an outcast tribe fed their starveling goats upon the hills. This place is called "Suwaykah;" it is, I was told, that celebrated in the history of the Arabs.* Yet not for this reason did my comrades look lovingly upon its horrors: their boxes were now safe, and with the eye of imagination they could now behold their homes. That night we must have travelled about twenty-two miles; the direction of the road was due east, and the only remarkable feature in the ground was its steady rise.

We pitched the tent under a villanous Mimosa, the tree whose shoot is compared by poetic Bedouins to the false friend who deserts you in your utmost need. I enlivened the hot dull day by a

* Suwaykah derives its name from the circumstance that in the second, or third, year of the Hijrah (Hégira), Mohammed here attacked Abu Sufiyan, who was out on a foray with 200 men. The Infidels, in their headlong flight, lightened their beasts by emptying their bags of "Sawik." This is the old and modern Arabic name for a dish of green grain, toasted, pounded, mixed with dates or sugar, and eaten on journeys when it is found difficult to cook. Such is the present signification of the word: M. C. de Perceval (vol. 3. p. 84.) gives it a different and a now unknown meaning. And our popular authors erroneously call the affair the "War of the *Meal-sacks*."

final dispute with Saad the Devil. His alacrity at Yambu obtained for him the loan of a couple of dollars: he had bought grain at El Hamra, and now we were near El Medinah; still there was not a word about repayment. And knowing that an Oriental debtor discharges his debt as he pays his rent,—namely, with the greatest unwillingness,—and that, on the other hand, an Oriental creditor will devote the labour of a year to recovering a sixpence, I resolved to act as a native of the country, placed in my position, would, and by dint of sheer dunning and demanding pledges try to recover my property. About noon Saad the Devil, after a furious rush, bare-headed, through the burning sun, flung the two dollars down upon my carpet: however, he presently recovered, and, as subsequent events showed, I had chosen the right part. Had he not been forced to repay his debt, he would have despised me as a "freshman," and asked for more. As it was the boy Mohammed bore the brunt of unpopular feeling, my want of liberality being traced to his secret and perfidious admonitions. He supported his burden the more philosophically, because, as he notably calculated, every dollar saved at El Medinah would be spent under his stewardship at Meccah.

At 4 P. M. we left Suwaykah, all of us in the crossest of humours, and travelled in a N. E. direction. So out of temper were my companions, that at sunset, of the whole party, Omar Effendi was the only one who would eat supper. The rest sat upon the ground, pouting, grumbling, and — they had been allowed to exhaust my stock of Latakia — smoking Syrian tobacco as if it were a grievance. Such a game at naughty children, I have seldom seen played even by the Oriental men. The boy Mohammed privily remarked to me that the camel-men's beards were now in his fist,—meaning that we were out of their kinsmen, the Harb's, reach. He soon found an opportunity to quarrel with them; and, because one of his questions was not answered in the shortest possible time, he proceeded to abuse them in language which sent their hands flying in the direction of their swords. Despite, however, this threatening demeanour, the youth, knowing that he now could safely go to any lengths, continued his ill words, and Mansúr's face was so comically furious, that I felt too much amused to interfere. At last the camel-men disappeared, thereby punishing us most effectually for our sport. The road lay up rocky hill and down stony vale; a tripping and stumbling dromedary had been

substituted for the usual one: the consequence was that we had either a totter or a tumble once per mile during the whole of that long night. In vain the now fiery Mohammed called for the assistance of the camel-men with the full force of his lungs: "Where be those owls, those oxen of the oxen, those beggars, those cut-off ones, those foreigners, those sons of flight * ? withered be their hands! palsied be their fingers! the foul mustachioed fellows, basest of the Arabs that ever hammered tent-peg, sneaking cats, goats of El Akhfash! † Truly I will torture them the torture of the oil ‡, the mines of infamy! the cold of countenance!" § The Bedouin brotherhood of the camel-men looked at him wickedly, muttering the while "By Allah! and by Allah! and by Allah! O boy, we will flog

* A popular but not a bad pun — "*H*arb," (Fight), becomes by the alteration of the H, "Harb," (Flight).

† The old Arabic proverb is "a greater wiseacre than the goat of Akhfash;" it is seldom intelligible to the vulgar.

‡ That is to say, "I will burn them (metaphorically) as the fiery wick consumes the oil,"—a most idiomatic Hejazi threat.

§ A "cold-of-countenance" is a fool. Arabs use the word "cold" in a peculiar way. "May Allah refrigerate thy countenance!" *i. e.* may it show misery and want. "By Allah, a cold speech!" that is to say, a silly or an abusive tirade.

thee like a hound when we catch thee in the Desert!" All our party called upon him to desist, but his temper had got completely the upper hand over his discretion, and he expressed himself in such classic and idiomatic Hejazi, that I had not the heart to stop him. Some days after our arrival at El Medinah, Shaykh Hamid warned him seriously never again to go such perilous lengths, as the Beni Harb were celebrated for shooting or poniarding the man who ventured to use even the mild epithet "O jackass!" to them. And in the quiet of the city the boy Mohammed, like a sobered man shuddering at dangers braved when drunk, hearkened with discomposure and penitence to his friend's words. The only immediate consequence of his abuse was that my broken shugduf became a mere ruin, and we passed the night perched like two birds upon the only entire bits of frame-work the cots contained.

The sun had risen before I shook off the lethargic effects of such a night. All around me were hurrying their camels, regardless of rough ground, and not a soul spoke a word to his neighbour. "Are there robbers in sight?" was the natural question. "No!" replied Mohammed; "they are

walking with their eyes*, they will presently see their homes!" Rapidly we passed the Wady el Akik†, of which,

"O my friend, this is Akik, then stand by it,
Endeavouring to be distracted by love, if not really a lover,"‡

and a thousand other such pretty things, have been said by the Arab poets. It was as "dry as summer's dust," and its "beautiful trees" appeared in the shape of vegetable mummies. Half an hour after leaving the "blessed valley" we came to a huge flight of steps roughly cut in a long broad line of black scoriaceous basalt. This is called the Mudarraj or flight of steps over the western ridge of the so-called El Harratain.§ It is holy ground;

* That is to say, they would use, if necessary, the dearest and noblest parts of their bodies (their eyes) to do the duty of the basest (*i. e.* their feet).

† Writers mention two El Akik. The superior comprises the whole site of El Medinah, extending from the Western Ridge, mentioned below, to the cemetery, El Bakia. The inferior is the fiumara here alluded to; it is on the Meccan road, about 4 miles S.W. of El Medinah, and its waters fall into the El Hamra torrent. It is called the "blessed valley" because the Prophet was ordered by an angel to pray in it.

‡ The esoteric meaning of this couplet is, "Man! this is a lovely portion of God's creation: then stand by it, and here learn to love the perfections of thy Supreme Friend."

§ El Harratain for El Harratani, the oblique case of the

for the Prophet spoke well of it. Arrived at the top we passed through a lane of black scoria, with steep banks on both sides, and after a few minutes a full view of the city suddenly opened upon us.*

We halted our beasts as if by word of command. All of us descended, in imitation of the pious of old, and sat down, jaded and hungry as we were, to feast our eyes with a view of the Holy City. "O Allah! this is the Haram (sanctuary) of the Prophet; make it to us a protection from hell fire, and a refuge from eternal punishment! O open the gates of thy mercy, and let us pass through them to the land of joy!" and "O Allah, bless the

dual and plural noun being universally used for the nominative in colloquial Arabic.

The other one of the Two Ridges will be described in a future part of this volume.

* The city is first seen from the top of the valley called Nakb, or Shuab Ali, close to the Wady El Akik, a long narrow pass, about 5 miles from El Medinah. Here, according to some, was the Mosque Zu'l Halifah, where the Prophet put on the Pilgrim's garb when travelling to Meccah. It is also called "The Mosque of the Tree," because near it grew a fruit tree under which the Prophet twice sat. Ibn Jubain considers that the Haram (or sacred precincts of El Medinah) is the space enclosed by three points, Zu'l Halifah, Mount Ohod, and the Mosque of Kuba. To the present day pilgrims doff their worldly garments at Zu'l Halifah.

last of Prophets, the seal of prophecy, with blessings in number as the stars of heaven, and the waves of the sea, and the sands of the waste — bless him, O Lord of Might and Majesty, as long as the corn field and the date grove continue to feed mankind!"* And again, "Live, for ever, O most excellent of Prophets! — live in the shadow of happiness during the hours of night and the times of day, whilst the bird of the tamarisk (the dove) moaneth like the childless mother, whilst the west wind bloweth gently over the hills of Nejd, and the lightning flasheth bright in the firmament of El Hejaz!" Such were the poetical exclamations that rose all around me, showing how deeply tinged with imagination becomes the language of the Arab under the influence of strong passion or religious enthusiasm. I now understood the full value of a phrase in the Moslem ritual, "And when his (the pilgrim's) eyes *fall upon the trees of El Medinah*, let him raise his voice and bless the Prophet with the choicest of

* That is to say, "throughout all ages and all nations." The Arabs divide the world into two great bodies, first themselves, and, secondly, "Ajemi," *i. e.* all that are not Arabs. Similar bi-partitions are the Hindus and Mlenchhas, the Jews and Gentiles, the Greeks and Barbarians, &c. &c.

blessings." In all the fair view before us, nothing was more striking, after the desolation through which we had passed, than the gardens and orchards about the town. It was impossible not to enter into the spirit of my companions, and truly I believe that for some minutes my enthusiasm rose as high as theirs. But presently, when we remounted *, the traveller returned strong upon me: I made a rough sketch of the town, put questions about the principal buildings, and in fact collected materials for the next chapter.

The distance traversed that night was about twenty miles in a direction varying from easterly and north-easterly. We reached El Medinah on the 25th July, thus taking nearly eight days to travel over little more than 130 miles. This journey is performed with camels in four days, and a good dromedary will do it without difficulty in half that time.†

* Robust religious men, especially those belonging to the school of El Malih, enter into El Medinah, after the example of Ali, on foot, reverently, as the pilgrims approach Meccah.

† Barbosa makes three days' journey from Yambu to El Medinah, D'Herbelot eight, and Ovington six. The usual time is from four to five days. A fertile source of error to home geographers, computing distances in Arabia, is their neglecting the difference between the slow camel-travelling and the fast dromedary riding.

## CHAP. XV.

### THROUGH THE SUBURB OF EL MEDINAH TO HAMID'S HOUSE.

As we looked eastward the sun arose out of the horizon of low hill, blurred and dotted with small tufted trees, which from the morning mists gained a giant stature, and the earth was stained with gold and purple. Before us lay a spacious plain, bounded in front by the undulating ground of Nejd; on the left was a grim barrier of rocks, the celebrated Mount Ohod, with a clump of verdure and a white dome or two nestling at its base. Rightwards, broad streaks of lilac-coloured mists were thick with gathered dew, there pierced and thinned by the morning rays, stretched over the date groves and the gardens of Kuba, which stood out in emerald green from the dull tawny surface of the plain. Below, at the distance of about two miles lay El Medinah; at first sight it appeared a large place, but a closer inspection proved the impression to be an erroneous one. A tortuous road from the Harrah to the city, wound across the plain

and led to a tall rectangular gateway, pierced in the ruinous mud wall which surrounds the suburb. This is the "Ambari" entrance. It is flanked on the left (speaking as a sketcher) by the domes and minarets of a pretty Turkish building, a "Takiyah," erected by the late Mohammed Ali for the reception of Dervish travellers; on the right by a long low line of white-washed buildings garnished with ugly square windows, an imitation of civilised barracks. Beginning from the left hand, as we sat upon the ridge, the remarkable features of the town thus presented themselves in succession. Outside, amongst the palm-trees to the north of the city, were the picturesque ruins of a large old *sebil*, or public fountain, and between this and the enceinte, stood a conspicuous building, in the Turkish pavilion style — the governor's palace. On the north-west angle of the town wall is a tall white-washed fort, partly built upon an outcropping mass of rock; its ramparts and embrasures give it a modern and European appearance, which contrasts strangely with its truly Oriental history.† In the suburb "El Munakhah"

* In the East, wherever there is a compound of fort and city, that place has certainly been in the habit of being divided against itself. Surat in Western India is a well-known

rise the bran-new domes and minarets of the five mosques, standing brightly out from the dull grey mass of house and ground. And behind is the most easterly part of the city: remarkable from afar, is the gem of El Medinah, the four tall substantial towers, and the flashing green dome under which the Prophet's remains rest.* Half concealed by this mass of buildings and by the houses of the town are certain white specks upon a green surface, the tombs that adorn the venerable cemetery of El Bakia. And from that point southwards began the mass of palm groves celebrated in El Islam as the "trees of El Medinah." The foreground was well fitted to set off such a view; fields of black basaltic scoriæ showing clear signs of a volcanic origin, were broken up into huge blocks and boulders, through which a descent,

instance. I must refer the reader to Burckhardt (Travels in Arabia, vol. 2. page 281., and onwards) for a detailed account of the feuds and affrays between the "Agha of the Castle" and the "Agha of the Town." Their day has now gone by,—for the moment.

* Sir John Mandeville, writing in the 14th century, informed Europe that "Machomet lyeth in the Cytee of Methone." In the 19th century, Mr. Halliwall, his editor, teaches us in a foot-note that "Methone" is "Meccah!" It is strange how often this gross mistake is still made by respectable authors in France as well as in England.

tolerably steep for camels, wound down into the plain.

After a few minutes' rest I remounted, and slowly rode on towards the gate. Even at this early hour the way was crowded with an eager multitude coming out to meet the caravan. My companions preferred walking, apparently for the better convenience of kissing, embracing, and shaking hands with relations and friends. Truly the Arabs show more heart on these occasions than any Oriental people I know; they are of a more affectionate nature than the Persians, and their manners are far more demonstrative than those of the Indians. The respectable Maryam's younger son, a pleasant contrast to her surly elder, was weeping aloud for joy as he ran round his mother's camel, he standing on tiptoe, she bending double in vain attempts to exchange a kiss; and, generally, when near relatives or intimates, or school companions, met, the fountains of their eyes were opened. Friends and comrades greeted each other, regardless of rank or fortune, with affectionate embraces, and an abundance of gestures, which neither party seemed to think of answering. The general mode of embracing was to throw one arm over the shoulder and the other round the side, placing the chin first

upon the left and then upon the right collar bone, and rapidly shifting till a "*jam satis*" suggested itself to both parties. Inferiors saluted their superiors by attempting to kiss hands, which were violently snatched away; whilst mere acquaintances gave each other a cordial "*poignée de mains*," and then raising the finger tips to their lips kissed them with apparent relish.

Passing through the Bab Ambari we defiled slowly down a broad dusty street, and traversed the *Harat*, or Quarter of the same name, El Ambariyah, the principal one in the Munakhah suburb. The street was by no means remarkable after Cairo; only it is rather wider and more regular than the traveller is accustomed to in Asiatic cities. I was astonished to see on both sides of the way, in so small a place, so large a number of houses too ruinous to be occupied. Then we crossed a bridge,—a single little round arch of roughly hewn stone, built over the bed of a torrent*, which in some parts appeared about fifty feet broad, with banks shrouding a high and deeply indented water-mark. Here the road abuts upon an open space called the "Barrel

* This torrent is called El Sayh,—"the Running Water,"—which, properly speaking, is the name of a well-wooded Wady outside the town, in the direction of Kuba.

Munakhah"*, or more concisely El Barr, "the plain." Straightforward a line leads directly into the Bab El Misri, the Egyptian gate of the city. But we turned off to the right, and, after advancing a few yards, found ourselves at the entrance of our friend Shaykh Hamid's house.

The Shaykh had preceded us early that morning, in order to prepare an apartment for his guests, and to receive the first loud congratulations and embraces of his mother and the daughter of his uncle.† Apparently he had not concluded this pleasing office when we arrived, for the camels were kneeling at least five minutes at his door, before he came out to offer the usual hospitable salutation. I stared to see the difference of his appearance this morning. The razor had passed over his head and face ‡; the former was now surmounted by a muslin turban of goodly size, wound

* "Munakhah" is a place where camels kneel down; it is a derivation from the better known root to "Nakh," or cause the animal to kneel.

† Arabs, and, indeed, most Orientals, are generally received, after returning from a journey, with shrill cries of joy by all the fair part of the household, and this demonstration they do not like strangers to hear.

‡ An Eastern barber is not content to pass the razor over hairy spots; he must scrape the forehead, trim the eyebrows,

round a new embroidered cap, and the latter, besides being clean, boasted of neat little mustachios turned up like two commas, and a well-trimmed goat's beard narrowed until it resembled what our grammars call an "exclamation point."(!) The dirty torn shirt, with the bit of rope round the loins, had been exchanged for a *jubbah* or outer cloak of light pink merinos, a long-sleeved *caftan* of rich flowered stuff, a fine shirt of *Halaili* * and a grand silk sash, of a plaid pattern, elaborately fringed at both ends, and wound round two thirds of his body for better display. His pantaloons were also of *Halaili* with tasteful edgings like a "pantilette's" about the ancles, and his bare and sun-burnt feet had undergone a thorough purification before being encased in new *mizz* † and *papooshes* of bright lemon-coloured leather of the newest and most fashionable

clean the cheeks, run the blade rapidly over the nose, correct the upper and under lines of the mustachios, parting them in the centre, and so on.

* *Halaili* is a cotton stuff, with long stripes of white silk, a favourite material amongst the city Arabs. At Constantinople, where the best is made, the piece, which will cut into two shirts, costs about thirty shillings.

† The "*Mizz*" (in colloquial Arabic *Misd*) are the tight-fitting inner slippers of soft Cordovan leather, worn as stockings inside the slipper; they are always clean, so they may be retained in the Mosque or on the Divan.

Constantinople cut. In one of his now delicate hands the Shaykh bore a mother-of-pearl rosary, token of piety, in the other a handsome pipe with a jasmine stick, and an expensive amber mouth-piece; his tobacco pouch dangling from his waist, as well as the little purse in the bosom pocket of his coat, was of broad cloth richly embroidered with gold. In course of time I saw that all my companions had metamorphosed themselves in an equally remarkable manner. Like men of sense they appeared in tatters where they were, or when they wished to be, unknown, and in fine linen where the world judged their prosperity by their attire. Their grand suits of clothes, therefore, were worn only for a few days after returning from the journey, as a proof that the wearer had wandered to some purpose; they were afterwards laid up in lavender, and reserved, as old ladies in Europe store up their state dresses, for choice occasions that never come round, because the finery in question becomes of an antiquated and unwearable nature.

The Shaykh, whose manners had changed with his dress, from the vulgar and boisterous to a certain staid courtesy, took my hand, and led me

up to the *majlis**, which was swept and garnished with all due apparatus for the forthcoming reception ceremony. And behind us followed the boy Mohammed, looking more downcast and ashamed of himself than I can possibly describe; he was still in his rags, and he felt keenly that every visitor staring at him would mentally inquire "who may that snob be?" With the deepest dejectedness he squeezed himself into a corner, and Shaykh Nur, who was foully dirty as an Indian *en voyage* always is, would have joined him in his shame, had I not ordered the "slave" to make himself generally useful. It is customary for all relations and friends to call upon the traveller the very day he returns, that is to say, if amity is to endure. The pipes therefore stood ready filled, the divans were duly spread, and the coffee† was being

* The *majlis* ("the place of sitting") is the drawing or reception room; it is usually in the first story of the house, below the apartments of the women.

† The coffee drank at El Medinah is generally of a good quality. In Egypt that beverage in the common coffee-shops is,—as required to be by the people who frequent those places,—"bitter as death, black as Satan, and hot as Jehannum." To effect this desideratum, therefore, they toast the grain to blackness, boil it to bitterness, and then drink scalding stuff of the consistency of water-gruel. At El Medinah, on the contrary,

boiled upon a brazier in the passage. Scarcely had I taken my place at the cool window sill,—it was the best in the room,—before the visitors began to pour in, and the Shaykh rose to welcome and embrace them. They sat down, smoked, chatted politics, asked all manner of questions about the other wayfarers and absent friends, drank coffee, and after half-an hour's visit, rose abruptly, and, exchanging embraces, took leave. The little men entered the assembly, after an *accolade* at the door, noiselessly, squatted upon the worst seats with polite *congées* to the rest of the assembly, smoked, and took their coffee, as it were, under protest, and glided out of the room as quietly as they crept in. The great people, generally busy and consequential individuals, upon whose countenances were written the words "well to do in the

—as indeed in the houses of the better classes even in Egypt,—the grain is carefully picked, and that the flavour may be preserved, it is never put upon the fire until required. It is toasted too till it becomes yellow, not black; and afterwards is bruised, not pounded to powder. The water into which it is thrown is allowed to boil up three times, after which a cold sprinkling is administered to clear it, and then the fine light-dun infusion is poured off into another pot. The Arabs seldom drink more than one cup of coffee at a time, but with many the time is every half hour of the day. The "Kishr" of Yemen is here unknown. (It is the "husk" of the coffee.)

world," appeared with a noise that made each person in the room rise reverentially upon his feet, sat down with importance, monopolised the conversation, and, departing in a dignified manner, expected all to be standing on the occasion. The Holy war, as usual, was the grand topic of conversation. The Sultan had ordered the Czar to become a Moslem. The Czar had sued for peace, and offered tribute and fealty. But the Sultan had exclaimed, "No, by Allah! El Islam!" The Czar could not be expected to take such a step without a little hesitation, but "Allah smites the faces of the Infidels!" Abdel Mejid would dispose of the "Moskow *" in a short time; after which he would turn his victorious army against all the idolaters of Feringistan, beginning with the English, the French, and the Aroám or Greeks.† Amongst much of this nonsense,—when applied to for my opinion, I was careful to make it popular,—

* The common name for the Russians in Egypt and El Hejaz.

† The Greeks are well known at El Medinah, and several of the historians complain that some of the minor holy places had fallen into the hands of this race, (Moslems, or pretended Moslems, I presume), who prevented people visiting them. It is curious that the impostor Cagliostro should have hit upon the truth when he located Greeks at El Medinah. [Aroám is the plural of Roumi, from the name "Roman" adopted by the Greeks.—Ed.]

I heard news foreboding no good to my journey towards Muscat. The Bedouins had decided that there was to be an Arab contingent, and had been looking forward to the spoils of Europe: this had caused quarrels, as all the men wanted to go, and not a ten-year-old would be left behind. The consequence was, that this amiable people was fighting in all directions. At least so said the visitors, and I afterwards found out that they were not far wrong. The Samman is a great family in numbers, as in dignity; from 8 A.M. till mid-day the *majlis* was crowded with people, and politeness delayed our breakfasts until an unconscionable hour.

To the plague of strangers succeeded that of children. No sooner did the *majlis* become, comparatively speaking, vacant than they rushed in *en masse;* treading upon our toes, making the noise of a nursery of madlings, pulling to pieces everything they could lay their hands upon, and using language that would have alarmed an old man-o'-war's-man.* In fact, no one can conceive the plague but

* Parents and full-grown men amuse themselves with grossly abusing children, almost as soon as they can speak, in order to excite their rage, and to judge of their dispositions. This supplies the infant population with a large stock-in-trade of ribaldry. They literally lisp in bad language.

those who have studied the "*enfans terribles*" which India sends home in cargoes. One urchin, scarcely three years old, told me that his father had a sword at home with which he would cut my throat from ear to ear, suiting the action to the word, because I objected to his perching upon my wounded foot. By a few taunts, I made the little wretch almost mad with rage; he shook his infant fist at me, and then opening his enormous round black eyes to their utmost stretch, he looked at me, and licked his knee with portentous meaning. Shaykh Hamid, happening to come in at the moment, stood aghast at the doorway, hand on chin, to see the Effendi subject to such indignity, and it was not without trouble that I saved the offender from summary nursery discipline. Another scamp caught up one of my loaded pistols before I could snatch it out of his hand, and clapped it to his neighbour's head; fortunately, it was on half-cock, and the trigger was a stiff one. Then a serious and majestic boy about six years old, with an inkstand in his belt, in token of his receiving a literary education, seized my pipe and began to smoke it with huge puffs. I ventured laughingly to institute a comparison between his person and the pipe-stick, when he threw it upon the ground, and stared at me fixedly with flaming eyes and features distorted by

anger. The cause of this "boldness" soon appeared. The boys, instead of being well beaten, were scolded with fierce faces, a mode of punishment which only made them laugh. They had their redeeming points, however; they were manly angry boys, who punched one another like Anglo-Saxons in the house, and abroad they are always fighting with sticks and stones. And they examined our weapons,—before deigning to look at any thing else,—as if eighteen instead of five had been the general age.

At last I so far broke through the laws of Arab politeness as to inform my host in plain words,—how inconceivably wretched the boy Mohammed was thereby rendered!—that I was hungry, thirsty, and sleepy, and that I wanted to be alone before visiting the Haram. The good-natured Shaykh, who was preparing to go out at once in order to pray at his father's grave, immediately brought me breakfast, lighted a pipe, spread a bed, darkened the room, turned out the children, and left me to the society I most desired—my own. I then overheard him summon his mother, wife, and other female relatives into the store-room, where his treasures had been carefully stored away. During the forenoon, in the presence of the visitors, one of

Hamid's uncles had urged him, half jocularly, to bring out the *sahharah*. The Shaykh did not care to do anything of the kind. Every time a new box is opened in this part of the world, the owner's generosity is appealed to by those whom a refusal offends, and he must allow himself to be plundered with the best possible grace. Hamid therefore prudently suffered all to depart before exhibiting his spoils; which, to judge by the exclamations of delight which they elicited from feminine lips, proved a satisfactory collection to those concerned.

After sleeping, we all set out in a body to the Haram, as this is a duty which must not be delayed by the pious. The boy Mohammed was in better spirits,—the effect of having borrowed, amongst other articles of clothing, an exceedingly gaudy embroidered coat from Shaykh Hamid. As for Shaykh Nur, he had brushed up his tarboosh, and, by means of some cast-off dresses of mine, had made himself look like a respectable Abyssinian slave, in a nondescript toilette, half Turkish, half Indian. I propose to reserve the ceremony of *ziyarat*, or visitation, for another chapter, and to conclude this with a short account of our style of living at the Shaykh's hospitable house.

Hamid's abode is a small corner building, open on the north and east to the Barr El Munakhah: the ground floor contains only a kind of vestibule, in which coarse articles, like old *shugdufs*, mats and bits of sacking, are stowed away; the rest is devoted to purposes of sewerage. Ascending dark winding steps of ragged stone covered with hard black earth, you come to the first floor, where the men live. It consists of two rooms to the front of the house, one a *majlis* or sitting room, and another converted into a store. Behind them is a dark passage, into which the doors open; and the back part of the first story is a long windowless room, containing a *hanafiyah**, and other conveniences for purification. The kitchen is on the second floor, which I did not inspect, it being as usual occupied by the Harem. The *majlis* has dwarf windows, or rather apertures in the northern and eastern walls, with rude wooden shutters and reed blinds,—the embrasures being garnished with cushions, where you sit, morning and evening, to enjoy the cool air; the ceiling is of date sticks laid across palm rafters stained red, and the walls

* The Hanafiyah is a large vessel of copper, sometimes tinned, with a cock in the lower part, and, generally, an ewer, or a basin, to receive the water.

are of rough scoriæ, burnt bricks, and wood-work cemented with lime. The only signs of furniture in the sitting-room are a diwan* round the sides and a carpet in the centre. A huge wooden box, like a seaman's chest, occupies one of the corners. In the southern wall there is a *suffeh*, or little shelf of common stone, supported by a single arch; upon this are placed articles in hourly use, perfume-bottles, coffee-cups, a stray book or two, and sometimes a turban, to be out of the children's way. Two hooks on the western wall, placed jealously

* It is wonderful that this most comfortable, inexpensive, and ornamental style of furnishing a room, has not been oftener imitated in India and the hot countries of Europe.

The diwan—it must not be confounded with the leathern perversion which obtains that name in our club smoking-rooms,—is a line of flat cushions ranged round the room, either placed upon the ground, or on wooden benches, or on a step of masonry, varying in height according to the fashion of the day. When such foundation is used, it should be about a yard in breadth, and slope very gently from the outer edge towards the wall, for the greater convenience of reclining. Cotton-stuffed pillows, covered with chintz for summer, and silk for winter, are placed against the wall, and can be moved to make a luxurious heap; their covers are generally all of the same colour, except those at the end. The seat of honour is denoted by a small square cotton-stuffed silk coverlet, placed in one of the corners, which the position of the windows determines. Thus in Egypt you have a neatly-furnished room for 5*l.* or 6*l.*

high up, support a pair of pistols with handsome crimson cords and tassels, and half a dozen cherry-stick pipes. The centre of the room is never without one or more *shishas**, and in the corner is a large copper brazier containing fire, with all the utensils for making coffee either disposed upon its broad brim or lying about the floor.

The passage, like the stairs, is spread over with hard black earth, and regularly watered twice a day during the hot weather. The household consisted of Hamid's mother, wife, some nephews and nieces, small children who ran about in a half wild and more than half nude state, and two African slave girls. When the Damascus caravan came in, it was further reinforced by the arrival of his three younger brothers.

Though the house was not a grand one, it was

* The Medinah *shisha* is a large cocoa-nut, with a tall wooden stem, both garnished with brass ornaments; some trifling differences in the latter distinguish it from the Meccah pipe. Both are inconveniently mounted upon small brass tripods, and are easily overturned, scattering fire and water over the carpets. The "ley," or snakes, are the substantial manufacture of Yemen. Some grandees at El Medinah have glass Turkish *shishas* and Constantinople snakes, which are of admirable elegance, compared with the clumsy and unsightly Arab inventions. (The *shisha* answers to the Indian hooka.)

made lively by the varied views from the *majlis'* windows. From the east, you looked upon El Barr, the town walls and houses beyond it, the Egyptian gate, the lofty minarets of the Haram, and the distant outlines of Jebel Ohod.* The north commanded a view of Mohammed's mosque—one of the *Khamsah Masajid*† of the suburb‡, part of the fort wall, and when the Damascus caravan came in, the gay scene of the "Prado" beneath. The majlis was tolerably cool during the early part of the day; in the afternoon the sun shone fiercely upon it. I have described the establishment at some length as a specimen of how the middle classes of society are lodged at El Medinah. The upper classes affect Turkish and Egyptian luxuries in their homes, as I had an opportunity of seeing at Omar Effendi's house in the "Barr;" and the abodes of the poorer classes are everywhere in these countries very similar.

Our life in Shaykh Hamid's house was quiet, but not disagreeable. I never once set eyes upon the face of woman there, unless the African slave

* From this window I took a view of the walls and the Egyptian gate of El Medinah.

† "Five mosques."

‡ This mosque must not be confounded with the Haram. It is described in Chapter XV.

girls be allowed the title. Even these at first attempted to draw their ragged veils over their sable charms, and would not answer the simplest question; by degrees they allowed me to see them, and they ventured their strange voices to reply to me; still they never threw off a certain appearance of shame.* I never saw, nor even heard, the youthful mistress of the household, who stayed all day in the upper rooms. The old lady, Hamid's mother, would stand upon the stairs, and converse aloud with her son, and when few people were about the house with me. She never, however, as afterwards happened to an ancient dame at Meccah, came and sat by my side. When lying during mid-day in the gallery, I often saw parties of women mount the stairs to the *Gynæconitis*, and sometimes an individual would stand to shake a muffled hand † with Hamid, to gossip a while, and to put some questions concerning absent friends;

* Their voices are strangely soft and delicate, considering the appearance of the organs from which they proceed. Possibly this may be a characteristic of the African races; it is remarkable amongst the Somáli women.

† After touching the skin of a strange woman, it is not lawful in El Islam to pray without ablution. For this reason, when a fair dame shakes hands with you, she wraps up her fingers in a kerchief, or in the end of her veil.

but they were most decorously wrapped up, nor did they ever deign to *déroger*, even by exposing an inch of cheek.

At dawn we arose, washed, prayed, and broke our fast* upon a crust of stale bread, before smoking a pipe, and drinking a cup of coffee.† Then it was time to dress, to mount, and to visit the Haram in one of the holy places outside the city. Returning before the sun became intolerable, we sat together, and with conversation, shishas and chibouques‡, coffee, and cold water perfumed with mastich-smoke §, we whiled away

* Nafukku'r rik, literally, "Let us open the saliva," is most idiomatic Hejazi for the first morsel eaten in the morning. Hence it is called Fakkur' rik, also Gura and Tasbih: the Egyptians call it "El Fatúr."

† Orientals invariably begin by eating an "akratisma" in the morning before they will smoke a pipe, or drink a cup of coffee; they have also an insuperable prejudice against the internal use of cold water at this hour.

‡ The tobacco generally smoked here is Syrian, which is brought down in large quantities by the Damascus caravan. Latakia is more expensive, and generally too dry to retain its flavour.

§ The interior of the water jar is here perfumed with the smoke of mastich, exactly as described by Lane, (*Mod. Egyptians*, vol. i. ch. 5.) I found at El Medinah the prejudice alluded to by Sonnini, namely, that the fumes of the gum are prejudicial, and sometimes fatal to invalids.

the time till our *ariston*, an early dinner which appeared at the primitive hour of 11 A.M. The meal, here called El Ghada, was served in the *majlis* on a large copper tray, sent from the upper apartments. Ejaculating "Bismillah" — the Moslem grace — we all sat round it, and dipped equal hands in the dishes set before us. We had usually unleavened bread, different kinds of meat and vegetable stews, and at the end of the first course plain boiled rice, eaten with spoons; then came the fruits, fresh dates, grapes, and pomegranates. After dinner I used invariably to find some excuse — such as the habit of a "Kaylúlah" (mid-day siesta) * or the being a "Saudawi" † or person of

* Kaylúlah is the half hour's siesta about noon. It is a Sunnat, and the Prophet said of it, "Kilu, fa inna 'sh' Shayátína lá Takil,"—"Take the mid-day siesta, for, verily, the devils sleep not at this hour." "Aylulah" is the sleeping after morning prayers, which causes heaviness and inability to work. Ghaylulah is the sleeping about 9 A.M., the effect of which is poverty and wretchedness. Kaylúlah (with the guttural kaf) is sleeping before evening prayers, a practice reprobated in every part of the East. And, finally, Faylulah is sleeping immediately after sunset,—also considered highly detrimental.

† The Arabs, who suffer greatly from melancholia, are kind to people afflicted with this complaint; it is supposed to cause a distaste for society, and a longing for solitude, an unsettled habit of mind, and a neglect of worldly affairs. Probably it is

melancholy temperament, to have a rug spread in the dark passage behind the *majlis*, and there to lie reading, dozing, smoking or writing, *en cachette*, in complete *déshabille* all through the worst part of the day, from noon to sunset. Then came the hour for receiving or paying visits. We still kept up an intimacy with Omar Effendi, and Saad the Devil, although Salih Skakkar and Amm Jemal, either disliking our society, or perhaps thinking our sphere of life too humble for their dignity, did not appear once in Hamid's house. The evening prayers ensued, either at home or in the Haram, followed by our *Asha* "deipnon," or supper, another substantial meal like the dinner, but more plentiful, of bread, meat, vegetables, plain rice and fruits, concluding with the invariable pipes and coffee. To pass our *soirée*, we occasionally dressed in common clothes, shouldered a nebút,* and went to

the effect of overworking the brain, in a hot dry atmosphere. I have remarked, that in Arabia students are subject to it, and that amongst their philosophers and literary men, there is scarcely an individual who was not spoken of as a "Saudawi." My friend Omar Effendi used to complain, that at times his temperament drove him out of the house,— so much did he dislike the sound of the human voice,— to pass the day seated upon some eminence in the vicinity of the city.

* This habit of going out at night in common clothes, with

the café; sometimes on festive occasions we indulged in a Taatumah (or Itmiyah), a late supper of sweetmeats, pomegranates and dried fruits. Usually we sat upon mattresses spread upon the ground in the open air at the Shaykh's door, receiving evening visits, chatting, telling stories, and making merry, till each, as he felt the approach of the drowsy god, sank down into his proper place, and fell asleep.

Whatever may be the heat of the day, the night at El Medinah, owing, I suppose, to its elevated position, is cool and pleasant. In order to allay the dust, the ground before the Shaykh's door was watered every evening, and the evaporation was almost too great to be safe,— the boy Mohammed suffered from a smart attack of lumbago, which, however, yielded readily to frictions of olive oil in which ginger had been boiled. Our greatest inconvenience at night time was the pugnacity of the animal creation. The horses of the troopers

a nebút upon one's shoulder, is, as far as I could discover, popular at El Medinah, but confined to the lowest classes at Meccah. The boy Mohammed always spoke of it with undisguised disapprobation. During my stay at Meccah, I saw no such costume amongst respectable people there; though sometimes, perhaps, there was a suspicion of a disguise.

tethered in the Barr were sure to break loose once in twelve hours. Some hobbled old nag, having slipped his head-stall, would advance with kangaroo-leaps towards a neighbour against whom he had a private grudge. Their heads would touch for a moment; then came a snort and a whining, a furious kick, and lastly, a second horse loose and dashing about with head and tail viciously cocked. This was the signal for a general breaking of halters and heel-ropes; after which a "stampedo" scoured the plain, galloping, rearing, kicking, biting, snorting, pawing, and screaming, with the dogs barking sympathetically, and the horse-keepers shouting in hot pursuit. It was a strange sight to see by moonlight the forms of these "demon steeds" exaggerated by the shadows; and on more than one occasion we had all to start up precipitately from our beds, and yield them to a couple of combatants who were determined to fight out their quarrel *à l'outrance*, wherever the battle-field might be.

The dogs at El Medinah are not less pugnacious than the horses.* They are stronger and braver

* Burckhardt (Travels in Arabia, vol. 2. p. 268.) remarks that El Medinah is the only town in the East from which dogs are excluded. This was probably as much a relic of Wah-

than those that haunt the streets at Cairo; like the Egyptians, they have amongst themselves a system of police regulations, which brings down all the *posse comitatus* upon the unhappy straggler who ventures into a strange quarter of the town. They certainly met in El Barr upon common ground, to decide the differences which must arise in so artificial a state of canine society. Having had many opportunities of watching them, I can positively assert that they were divided into two parties, which fought with a skill and an *acharnement* which astounded me. Sometimes when one side gave way, and the retreat was degenerating into a *sauve qui peut*, some proud warrior, a dog-hero, would sacrifice himself for the public weal, and with gnashing teeth and howls of rage encounter the assaults of the insolent victors whilst his flying friends had time to recover heart.

Such a one my Arab companions called "Mubariz."* At other times, some huge animal, an

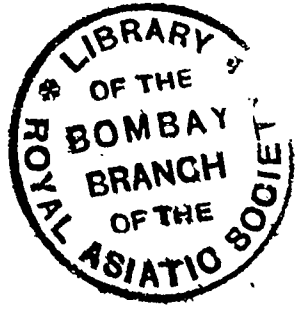
habeism, (that sect hating even to look at a dog), as arising from apprehension of the mosque being polluted by canine intrusion. I have seen one or two of these animals in the town, but I was told, that when they enter it in any numbers, the police-magistrate issues orders to have them ejected.

* The "Mubariz" is the single combatant, the champion of the Arabian classical and chivalrous times.

Ajax of his kind, would plunge into the ring with frantic yells, roll over one dog, snap at a second, wrangle a third for a minute or two, and then dash off to a distant part, where a thicker field required his presence. This uncommon sagacity has been remarked by the Arabs, who look on amused at their battles. There are also certain superstitions about the dog resembling ours, only, as usual, more poetical and less grotesque, current in El Hejaz. Most people believe that when the animal howls without apparent cause in the neighbourhood of a house, it forebodes death to one of the inmates. For the dog they say can distinguish the awful form of Azrael, the angel of death, hovering over the doomed abode, whereas man's spiritual sight is dull and dim by reason of his sins.

When the Damascus caravan entered El Medinah, our day became a little more amusing. From the windows of Shaykh Hamid's house there was a perpetual succession of strange scenes. A Persian nobleman, also, had pitched his tents so opportunely near the door, that the whole course of his private life became public and patent to the boy Mohammed, who amused his companions by reporting all manner of ludicrous scenes. The

Persian's wife was rather a pretty woman, and she excited the youth's fierce indignation, by not veiling her face when he gazed at her,— thereby showing that, as his beard was not grown, she considered him a mere boy. "I will ask her to marry me," said Mohammed, "and thereby rouse her shame!" He did so, but, unhappy youth! the Persian never even ceased fanning herself. The boy Mohammed was for once confounded.



## CHAP. XVI.

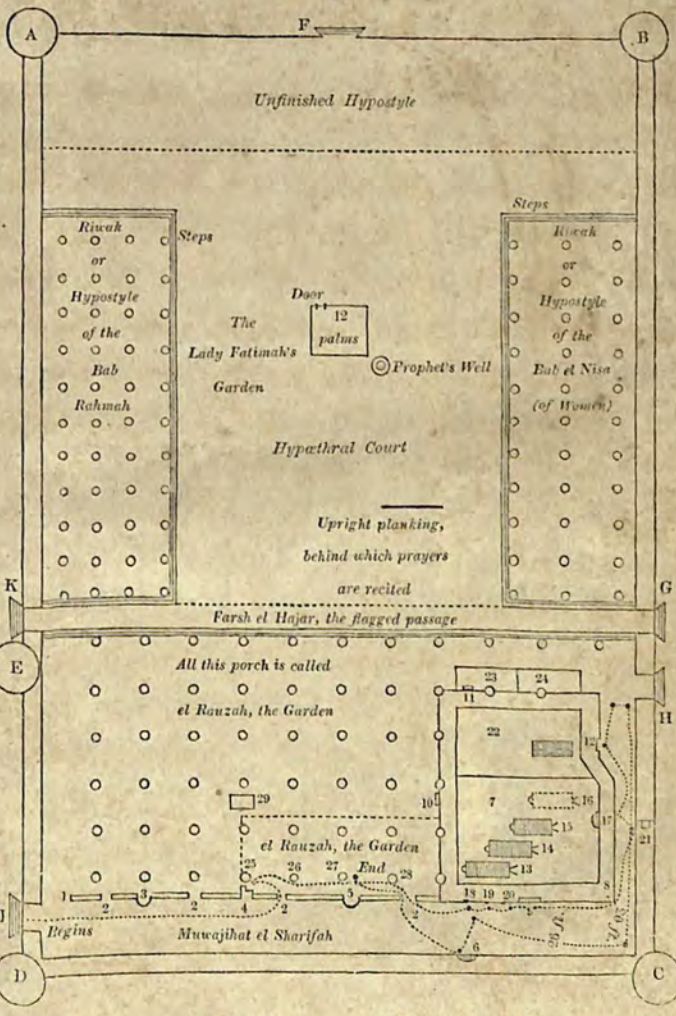
### A VISIT TO THE PROPHET'S TOMB.

HAVING performed the greater ablution, and used the tooth-stick as directed, and dressed ourselves in white clothes, which the Prophet loved, we were ready to start upon our holy errand. As my foot still gave me great pain, Shaykh Hamid sent for a donkey. A wretched animal appeared, raw-backed, lame of one leg, and wanting an ear, with accoutrements to match, and pack-saddle without stirrups, and a halter instead of a bridle. Such as the brute was, however, I had to mount it, and to ride through the Misri gate, to the wonder of certain Bedouins, who, like the Indians, despise the ass.

> "Honourable is the riding of a horse to the rider,
> But the mule is a dishonour, and the ass a disgrace,"

says their song. The Turkish pilgrims, however, who appear to take a pride in ignoring all Arab points of prejudice, generally mount donkeys when they cannot walk. The Bedouins therefore settled

# PLAN OF THE HARAM, OR THE PROPHET'S MOSQUE, AT EL MEDINAH.




The long walls are 420 feet. The short walls 340. The Hujrah is an irregular square of 55 feet. The space marked with dots and called El Rauzah is about 80 feet long. Between the Hujrah and the Eastern wall 20 feet. Between the Hujrah and the Southern wall 25 or 26 feet.

A. Shikaliyah Minaret, being now rebuilt.
B. Sulaymaniyah Minaret.
C. Rafiyah Minaret.
D. Minaret of Salam Gate.
E. Minaret of Rahmah Gate.
F. New Gate El Majidi.
G. Bab el Nisa (of women).
H. Bab Jibrail (of Gabriel).
I. Bab Salam (of Safety).
J. Bab Rahmah (of Mercy).
1. Dwarf wall.
2. Passages through wall.
3. Mihrab el Sulaymani (Niche of Sultan Sulayman).
4. The Prophet's pulpit.
5. The Prophet's niche.
6. Omar's niche.
7. El Hujrah, the chamber in which the Prophet died and was buried. An irregular square of 50 or 55 feet.
8. The passage encircling the tombs.
9. The door in the grating called Bab el Muwajihah.
10. The Bab el Taubah (of Repentance).
11. The Gate of our Lady Fatimah.
12. The Prophet's Tomb.
13. Abubekr's Tomb.
15. Omar's Tomb.
16. Vacant place intended for the sepulture of Isa bin Maryam.
17. The Makam Sayyidna Isa (Place of our Lord Isa).
18. The Shubak el Naby (Prophet's window).
19. Abubekr's window.
20. Omar's window.
21. The Mahbat Jibrail, or place where Gabriel used to descend, vulgarly called Gabriel's Gate.
22. Fatimah's Tomb, supposed to be in her house.
23. The Dakkat el Aghawah, a low enclosure where the eunuchs sit.
24. The place where the Koran is continually read.

*The dotted lines denote the visitor's course: the larger points denote the stations of prayer.*

25. The Weeping Post.
26. Ayisha's Pillar.
27. The Pillar of the Fugitives.
28. The Pillar of Repentance, or of Abu Lubabah.
29. The Mukabbariyah, consisting of a stone seat supported by 4 columns. Here the Muballigh, (who is to the interior of the mosque what the Muezzin is to the exterior,) warns people 5 times a day to prayer.

among themselves, audibly enough, that I was an Osmanli, who of course could not understand Arabic, and put the question generally, "by what curse of Allah they had been subjected to ass-riders?"

But Shaykh Hamid is lecturing me upon the subject of the mosque.

The Masjid El Nabawi, or the Prophet's Mosque, is one of the Haramain, or the "two sanctuaries" of El Islam, and is the second of the three * most venerable places of worship in the world; the other two being the Masjid El Haram at Meccah (connected with Abraham) and the Masjid El Aksa of Jerusalem (the peculiar place of Solomon). A *Hadís* or traditional saying of Mohammed asserts, "One prayer in this my mosque is more efficacious than a thousand in other places, save only the Masjid El Haram." † It is therefore the visitor's duty, as long as he stays at El Medinah, to pray the five

* Others add a fourth, namely, the Masjid El Takwa, at Kuba.

† The Moslem divines, however, naïvely remind their readers, that they are not to pray once in the El Medinah mosque, and neglect the other 999, as if absolved from the necessity of them.

The passage in the text promises as it were 1000 blessings upon that man's devotion who prays at the Prophet's mosque.

times per diem there, to pass the day in it reading the Koran, and the night, if possible, in watching and devotion.

A visit to the Masjid El Nabawi, and the holy spots within it, is technically called "Ziyárat" or Visitation.* An essential difference is made between this rite and Hajj pilgrimage. The latter is obligatory by Koranic order upon every Moslem once in his life: the former is only a meritorious action. "Tawáf," or circum-ambulation of the House of Allah at Meccah, must never be performed at the Prophet's tomb. This should not be visited in the *ihram* or pilgrim dress; men should not kiss it, touch it with the hand, or press the bosom against it, as at the Kaabah; or rub the face with dust collected near the sepulchre; and those who prostrate themselves before it, like certain ignorant Indians, are held to be guilty of deadly sin. On the other hand to spit upon any

* The visitor, who approaches the Sepulchre as a matter of religious ceremony, is called "Záir," his conductor "Muzawwir," whereas the pilgrim at Meccah becomes a "Haji." The Imam Malik disapproved of a Moslem's saying, "I have visited the Prophet's Tomb," preferring him to express himself thus—"I have visited the Prophet." Others again dislike the latter formula, declaring the Prophet too venerable to be so visited by Amr and Zayd.

part of the mosque, or to treat it with contempt, is held to be the act of an infidel.

Thus learning and the religions have settled, one would have thought, accurately enough the spiritual rank and dignity of the Masjid El Nabawi. But mankind, especially in the East, must always be in extremes. The orthodox school of El Malik holds El Medinah, on account of the sanctity of, and the religious benefits to be derived from Mohammed's tomb, more honourable than Meccah. The Wahhabis, on the other hand, rejecting the intercession of the Prophet on the day of judgment; considering the grave of a mere mortal unworthy of notice; and highly disgusted by the idolatrous respect paid to it by certain foolish Moslems, plundered the sacred building with sacrilegious violence, and forbade visitors from distant countries to enter El Medinah.* The general *consensus* of El Islam admits the superiority of the Bait Allah("House of God") at Meccah to the whole world, and declares El Medinah to be more venerable than every part of Meccah, and consequently all the earth, except only the Bait Allah.

* In A.D. 1807, they prevented Ali Bey (the Spaniard Badia) from entering El Medinah, and it appears that he had reason to congratulate himself upon escaping without severe punishment.

Passing through muddy streets,— they had been freshly watered before evening time, — I came suddenly upon the mosque. Like that at Meccah the approach is choked up by ignoble buildings, some actually touching the holy "enceinte," others separated by a lane compared with which the road round St. Paul's is a Vatican square.* There is no outer front, no general aspect of the Prophet's mosque; consequently, as a building, it has neither beauty nor dignity. And entering the Bab el Rahmah † —the Gate of Pity,—by a diminutive flight of steps, I was astonished at the mean and tawdry appearance of a place so universally venerated in the Moslem world. It is not, like the Meccan mosque, grand and simple — the expression of a single sublime idea: the longer I looked at it, the more it suggested the resemblance of a museum of second-rate art, a curiosity-shop, full of ornaments that are not accessaries, and decorated with pauper splendour.

* Nothing in the Spanish cathedrals suggests their Oriental origin and the taste of the people, more than the way in which they are hedged in by secular buildings.

† The ceremony of Ziyárat, however, begins at the Bab El Salam. We rode up to this gate only in order to avoid the sun.

The Masjid el Nabi is a parallelogram about 420 feet in length by 340 broad, the direction of the long walls being nearly north and south. As usual in El Islam, it is a hypæthral building with a spacious central area, called El Sahn, El Hosh, El Haswah, or El Ramlah*, surrounded by a peristyle with numerous rows of pillars like the colonnades of an Italian monastery. Their arcades, or porticoes are flat-ceilinged, domed above with the small "Media Naranja," or half-orange cupola of Spain, and divided into four parts by narrow passages, three or four steps below the level of the pavement. Along the whole inner length of the northern short wall runs the Mejídi Riwak, so called from the reigning sultan.† The western long wall is occupied by the Riwak of the Rahmah Gate; the eastern by that of the Bab el Nisa, the

* Haswat is a place covered with gravel: Ramlah, one which is sanded over. Both are equally applicable, and applied to the areas of mosques. El Sahn is the general word; El Hosh is occasionally used, but is more properly applied to the court-yard of a dwelling-house.

† This Riwak was begun about five or six years ago by Abdul Mejid. To judge from the size of the columns, and the other preparations which encumber the ground, this part of the building will surpass all the rest. But the people of El Medinah assured me that it is not likely to be finished for some time,—a prophecy likely to be fulfilled by the present state of Turkish finance.

"women's entrance."* Embracing the inner length of the southern short wall, and deeper by nearly treble the amount of columns, than the other porticoes, is the main colonnade, called El Rauzah †, the *adytum* containing all that is venerable in the building. These four riwaks, arched externally, are supported internally by pillars of different shape and material, varying from fine porphyry to dirty plaster; the southern one, where the sepulchre or cenotaph stands, is paved with handsome slabs of white marble and marquetry work, here and there covered with coarse matting, and above this by unclean carpets, well worn by faithful feet.‡

But this is not the time for Tafarruj, or lionising. Shaykh Hamid warns me with a nudge, that other things are expected of a Zair. He leads me to the Bab el Salam, fighting his way through a troop

* This gate derives its peculiar name from its vicinity to the Lady Fatimah's tomb; women, when they do visit the mosque, enter it through all the doors indifferently.

† It is so called by the figure synecdoche: it contains the Rauzah, (Raudah,) or the Prophet's Garden, and therefore the whole portico enjoys that honoured name.

‡ These carpets are swept by the eunuchs, who let out the office for a certain fee to pilgrims, every morning, immediately after sunrise. Their diligence, however, does by no means prevent the presence of certain little parasites, concerning which politeness is dumb.

of beggars, and inquires markedly if I am religiously pure.* Then, placing our hands a little below and on the left of the waist, the palm of the right covering the back of the left, in the position of prayer, and beginning with the right feet †, we pace slowly forwards down the line called the Muwajihat el Sharifah, or "the Holy Fronting," which, divided off like an aisle, runs parallel with the southern wall of the mosque. On my right hand walked the Shaykh, who recited aloud the following prayer, which I repeated after him.‡ It is literally rendered, as, indeed, are all the formulæ, and the reader is requested to excuse the barbarous fidelity of the translation. "In the name of Allah and in the Faith of Allah's Prophet! O Lord cause me to enter the entering of Truth, and cause me to issue forth the issuing of Truth, and permit me to draw near to thee, and make me a Sultan

* Because if not pure, ablution is performed at the well in the centre of the hypæthra. Zairs are ordered to visit the mosque perfumed, and in their best clothes, and the Hanafi school deems it lawful on this occasion only to wear dresses of pure silk.

† In this mosque, as in all others, it is proper to enter with the right foot, and to retire with the left.

‡ I must warn the reader that almost every Muzawwir has his own litany, which descends from father to son: moreover all the books differ at least as much as do the oral authorities.

Victorious!" * Then followed blessings upon the Prophet, and afterwards: "O Allah! open to me the doors of thy mercy, and grant me entrance into it, and protect me from the Stoned Devil!"

During this preliminary prayer we had passed down two thirds of the Muwajihat el Sharifah. On the left hand is a dwarf wall, about the height of a man, painted with arabesques, and pierced with four small doors which open into the Muwajihat. In this barrier are sundry small erections, the niche called the Mihrab Sulaymani †, the Mambar, or pulpit, and the Mihrab el Nabawi.‡ The two niches are of beautiful mosaic, richly worked with various coloured marbles, and the pulpit is a graceful collection of slender columns, elegant tracery, and inscriptions admirably carved. Arrived at the western small door in the dwarf wall, we entered the celebrated spot called El Rauzah, or

* That is to say "over the world, the flesh, and the devil."

† This by strangers is called the Masalla Shafei, or the Place of Prayer of the Shafei school. It was sent from Constantinople about 100 years ago, by Sultan Sulayman the Magnificent. He built the Sulaymaniyah minâret, and has immortalised his name at El Medinah, as well as at Meccah, by the number of his donations to the shrine.

‡ Here is supposed to have been one of the Prophet's favourite stations of prayer. It is commonly called the Musalla Hanafi, because now appropriated by that school.

the Garden, after a saying of the Prophet's, "between my Tomb and my Pulpit is a Garden of the Gardens of Paradise." * On the north and west sides it is not divided from the rest of the portico; on the south lies the dwarf wall, and on the east it is limited by the west end of the lattice-work containing the tomb. Accompanied by my *Muzawwir*

* This tradition, like most others referring to events posterior to the Prophet's death, is differently given, and so important are the variations, that I only admire how all El Islam does not follow Wahhabi example, and summarily consign them to oblivion. Some read "between my dwelling-house (in the mosque) and my place of prayer (in the Barr el Munakhah) is a Garden of the Gardens of Paradise. Others again, "between my house and my pulpit is a Garden of the Gardens of Paradise." A third tradition — "Between my tomb and my pulpit is a Garden of the Gardens of Paradise, and verily my pulpit is in my Full Cistern." Tara, or "upon a Full Cistern of the Cisterns of Paradise," has given rise to a new superstition. "Tara," according to some commentators, alludes especially to the cistern El Kausar; consequently this Rauzah is, like the black stone at Meccah, *bonâ fide*, a bit of Paradise, and on the day of resurrection, it shall return bodily to the place whence it came. Be this as it may, all Moslems are warned that the Rauzah is a most holy spot. None but the Prophet and his son-in-law Ali ever entered it, when ceremonially impure, without being guilty of deadly sin. The Mohammedan of the present day is especially informed that on no account must he here tell lies in it, or even perjure himself. Thus the Rauzah must be respected as much as the interior of the Bait Allah at Meccah.

I entered the Rauzah, and was placed by him with the Mukabbariyah* behind me, fronting Meccah, with my right shoulder opposite to and about twenty feet distant from the dexter pillar of the Prophet's Pulpit.† There, after saying the afternoon prayers ‡, I performed the usual two prostrations in honour of the temple §, and at the end of them recited the 109th and the 112th chapters of

* This is a stone desk on four pillars, where the *Muballighs* (or clerks) recite the *Ikámah,* the call to divine service. It was presented to the mosque by Kaid-bey, the Mamluk Sultan of Egypt.

† I shall have something to say about this pulpit when entering into the history of the Haram.

‡ The afternoon prayers being *Farz,* or obligatory, were recited, because we feared that evening might come on before the ceremony of *Ziyárat* (visitation) concluded, and thus the time for El Asr (afternoon prayers) might pass away. The reader may think this rather a curious forethought in a man who, like Hamid, never prayed except when he found the case urgent. Such, however, is the strict order, and my Muzawwir was right to see it executed.

§ This two-prostration prayer, which generally is recited in honour of the mosque, is here, say divines, addressed especially to the Deity by the visitor who intends to beg the intercession of his Prophet. It is only just to confess that the Moslems have done their best by all means in human power, here as well as elsewhere, to inculcate the doctrine of eternal distinction between the creature and the creator. Many of the Maliki school, however, make the ceremony of Ziyarat to precede the prayer to the Deity.

the Koran—the "Kul ya ayyuha'l Kafiruna," and the "Surat El Ikhlas," called also the "Kul Huw Allah," or the Declaration of Unity; and may be thus translated:

1. "Say, He is the one God!"
2. "The eternal God!"
3. "He begets not, nor is he begot,"
4. "And unto him the like is not."

After which was performed a single *Sujdah* of thanks*, in gratitude to Allah for making it my fate to visit so holy a spot. This being the recognised time to give alms, I was besieged by beggars, who spread their napkins before us on the ground sprinkled with a few coppers to excite generosity. But not wishing to be distracted by them, before leaving Hamid's house I had asked change of two dollars, and had given it to the boy Mohammed, who accompanied me, strictly charging him to make that sum last all through the mosque. My answer to the beggars was a reference to my

* The *Sujdah* is a single "prostration" with the forehead touching the ground. It is performed from a sitting position, after the *Dua* or supplication that concludes the two-prostration prayer. Some of the Ulema, especially those of the Shafei school, permit this "Sujdah of thanks" to be performed before the prostration prayer, if the visitor have any notable reason to be grateful.

attendant, backed by the simple action of turning my pockets inside out, and whilst he was battling with the beggars, I proceeded to cast my first *coup-d'œil* upon the Rauzah.

The "Garden" is the most elaborate part of the mosque. Little can be said in its praise by day, when it bears the same relation to a second-rate church in Rome as an English chapel-of-ease to Westminster Abbey. It is a space of about eighty feet in length, tawdrily decorated so as to resemble a garden. The carpets are flowered, and the pediments of the columns are cased with bright green tiles, and adorned to the height of a man with gaudy and unnatural vegetation in arabesque. It is disfigured by handsome branched candelabras of cut crystal, the work, I believe, of a London house, and presented to the shrine by the late Abbas Pacha of Egypt.* The only admirable feature of the view is the light cast by the windows of stained glass † in the southern wall. Its peculiar background, the railing of the tomb, a splendid filagree-work of green and polished brass, gilt or made to resemble gold, looks more

* The candles are still sent from Cairo.

† These windows are a present from Kaid-bey, the Mamluk Sultan of Egypt.

picturesque near than at a distance, when it suggests the idea of a gigantic bird-cage. But at night the eye, dazzled by oil lamps suspended from the roof*, by huge wax candles, and by smaller illuminations falling upon crowds of visitors in handsome attire, with the rich and the noblest of the city sitting in congregation when service is performed†, becomes less critical. Still the scene must be viewed with a Moslem's spirit, and until a man is thoroughly embued with the East, the last place the Rauzah will remind him of, is that which the architect primarily intended it to resemble — a garden.

Then with Hamid, professionally solemn, I reassumed the position of prayer, as regards the hands; and retraced my steps. After passing through another small door in the dwarf wall that bounds the *Muwajihah*, we did not turn to the right, which would have led us to the Bab El Salam; our course was in an opposite direction, towards the eastern wall of the temple. Meanwhile

* These oil lamps are a present from the Sultan.

† The five daily liturgies are here recited by Imams, and every one presses to the spot on account of its peculiar sanctity.

we repeated "Verily Allah and his Angels bless * the Prophet! O ye who believe, bless him, and salute him with honour!" At the end of this prayer, we arrived at the Mausoleum, which requires some description before the reader can understand the nature of our proceedings there.

* In Moslem theology "Salat" from Allah means mercy, from the angels intercession for pardon, and from mankind blessing.

The act of blessing the Prophet is one of peculiar efficacy in a religious point of view. Cases are quoted of sinners being actually snatched from hell by a glorious figure, the personification of the blessings which had been called down by them upon Mohammed's head. This most poetical idea is borrowed, I believe, from the ancient Guebres, who fabled that a man's good works assumed a beautiful female shape, which stood to meet his soul when winding its way to judgment. Also when a Moslem blesses Mohammed at El Medinah, his sins are not written down for three days,— thus allowing ample margin for repentance,— by the recording angel. El Malakain (the two Angels), or Kiram el Katibín (the Generous Writers), are mere personifications of the good principle and the evil principle of man's nature: they are fabled to occupy each a shoulder, and to keep a list of words and deeds. This is certainly borrowed from a more ancient faith. In Hermas II. (command. 6), we are told that "every man has two angels, one of godliness, the other of iniquity," who endeavour to secure his allegiance, — a superstition seemingly founded upon the dualism of the old Persians. Mediæval Europe, which borrowed so much from the East at the time of the Crusades, degraded these angels into good and bad fairies for children's stories.

The *Hujrah* *, or "Chamber" as it is called, from the circumstance of its having been Ayisha's room, is an irregular square of from 50 to 55 feet in the S. E. corner of the building, and separated on all sides from the walls of the mosque by a passage about 26 feet broad on the S. side, and 20 on the eastern. The reason of this isolation has been before explained, and there is a saying of Mohammed's, "O Allah cause not my tomb to become an object of idolatrous adoration! May Allah's wrath fall heavy upon the people who make the tombs of their prophets places of prayer!" † Inside there are, or are supposed to be, three tombs facing the south, surrounded by

* Burckhardt writes this word Hedjra (which means "flight"). Nor is M. Caussin de Perceval's "El Hadjarat" less erroneous. At Medinah it is invariably called El Hujrah—the chamber. The chief difficulty in distinguishing the two words, meaning "chamber" and "flight," arises from our only having one *h* to represent the hard ands oft *h* of Arabic, حجرة and هجرة.

In the case of common saints, the screen or railing round the cenotaph is called a "Maksurah."

† Yet Mohammed enjoined his followers to frequent graveyards. "Visit graves; of a verity they shall make you think of futurity!" and again, "Whoso visiteth the grave of his two parents every Friday, or one of the two, he shall be written a pious child, even though he might have been in the world before that, disobedient to them."

stone walls without any aperture, or, as others say, by strong planking.* Whatever this material may be, it is hung outside with a curtain, somewhat like a large four-post bed. The outer railing is separated by a dark narrow passage from the inner one, which it surrounds, and is of iron filagree painted of a vivid grass green, — with a view to the garden, — whilst carefully inserted in the verdure, and doubly bright by contrast, is the gilt or burnished brass work forming the long and graceful letters of the Suls character, and disposed into the Moslem creed, the profession of unity, and similar religious sentences. On the south side, for greater honour, the railing is plated over with silver, and silver letters are interlaced with it. This fence, which connects the columns and forbids passage to all men, may be compared to the baldacchino of Roman churches. It has four gates: that to the south is the Bab el Muwajihah; eastward is the gate of our Lady Fatimah; westward the Bab el Taubah, (of repentance,) open-

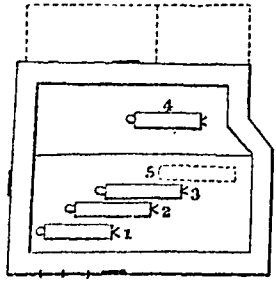
* The truth is no one knows what is there. I have even heard a learned Persian declare that there is no wall behind the curtain, which hangs so loosely that, when the wind blows against it, it defines the form of a block of marble, or a built-up tomb. I believe this to be wholly apochryphal, for reasons which will presently be offered.

ing into the Rauzah or garden, and to the north, the Bab el Shami or Syrian gate. They are constantly kept closed, except the fourth, which admits, into the dark narrow passage above alluded to, the officers who have charge of the treasures there deposited, and the eunuchs who sweep the floor, light the lamps, and carry away the presents sometimes thrown in here by devotees.* In the southern side of the fence are three windows, holes about half a foot square, and placed from four to five feet above the ground; they are said to be between three and four cubits distant from the Prophet's head. The most westerly of these is supposed to front, Mohammed's tomb, wherefore it is called the Shubák el Nabi, or the Prophet's window The next, on the right as you front it, is Abubekr's, and the most easterly of the three is Omar's. Above the Hujrah is the Green Dome, surmounted outside by a large gilt crescent springing from a series of

* The peculiar place where the guardians of the tomb sit and confabulate is the Dakkat el Ayhawat (eunuch's bench) or el Mayda — the table — a raised bench of stone and wood, on the north side of the Hujrah. The remaining part of this side is partitioned off from the body of the mosque by a dwarf wall, inclosing the "Khasafat el Sultan," the place where *Fakihs* are perpetually engaged in *Khitmahs*, or perusals of the Koran, on behalf of the reigning Sultan.

globes. The glowing imaginations of the Moslems crown this gem of the building with a pillar of heavenly light, which directs from three days' distance the pilgrims' steps towards El Medinah. But alas! none save holy men, (and perhaps, odylic sensitives,) whose material organs are piercing as their vision spiritual, are allowed the privilege of beholding this poetic splendour.

Arrived at the Shubah el Nabi, Hamid took his stand about six feet or so out of reach of the railing, and at that respectful distance from, and facing * the Hazirah (or presence), with hands raised as in prayer, he recited the following supplication in a low voice, telling me in a stage whisper to repeat it after him with awe, and fear, and love.




1. Mohammed.
2. Abubekr.
3. Omar.
4 Fatimah's tomb.
5. The dotted space left empty for Isa.

"Peace be with thee, O Prophet of Allah, and

* The ancient practice of El Islam during the recitation of the following benedictions was to face Meccah, the back being turned towards the tomb, and to form a mental image of the Prophet, supposing him to be in front. El Kirmani and other doctors prefer this as the more venerable custom, but in these days it is completely exploded, and the purist would probably be soundly bastinadoed by the eunuchs for attempting it.

the mercy of Allah and his blessings! Peace be with thee, O Prophet of Allah! Peace be with thee, O friend of Allah! Peace be with thee, O best of Allah's creation! Peace be with thee, O pure creature of Allah! Peace be with thee, O chief of Prophets! Peace be with thee, O seal of the Prophets! Peace be with thee, O prince of the pious! Peace be with thee, O Prophet of the Lord of the (three) worlds! Peace be with thee, and with thy family, and with thy pure wives! Peace be with thee, and with all thy companions! Peace be with thee, and with all the Prophets, and with those sent to preach Allah's word! Peace be with thee and with all Allah's righteous worshippers! Peace be with thee, O thou bringer of glad tidings! Peace be with thee, O bearer of threats! Peace be with thee, O thou bright lamp! Peace be with thee, O thou Prophet of mercy! Peace be with thee, O ruler of thy faith! Peace be with thee, O opener of grief! Peace be with thee! and Allah bless thee! and Allah repay thee for us, O thou Prophet of Allah! the choicest of blessings with which he ever blessed prophet! Allah bless thee as often as mentioners have mentioned thee, and forgetters have forgotten thee! And Allah bless thee among the first and the last, with the best, the highest, and the fullest of blessings ever bestowed on man,

even as we escaped error by means of thee, and were made to see after blindness, and after ignorance were directed into the right way. I bear witness that there is no Allah but Allah, and I testify that thou art his servant, and his prophet, and his faithful follower, and best creature. And I bear witness, O Prophet of Allah! that thou hast delivered thy message, and discharged thy trust, and advised thy faith, and opened grief, and published proofs, and fought valiantly for thy Lord, and worshipped thy God till certainty came to thee, (*i. e.* to the hour of death), and we thy friends, O Prophet of Allah! appear before thee travellers from distant lands and far countries, through dangers and difficulties, in the times of darkness, and in the hours of day, longing to give thee thy rights (*i. e.* to honour the Prophet by benediction and visitation), and to obtain the blessings of thine intercession, for our sins have broken our backs, and thou intercedest with the Healer. And Allah said *, 'And though they have injured themselves, they came to thee, and begged thee to secure their pardon, and they found God an acceptor of penitence, and full of compassion.' O Prophet of Allah, intercession! intercession!

* This is the usual introduction to a quotation from the Koran.

intercession!* O Allah bless Mohammed and Mohammed's family, and give him superiority and high rank, even as thou didst promise him, and graciously allow us to conclude this visitation. I deposit on this spot, and near thee, O Prophet of God, my everlasting profession (of faith) from this our day, to the day of judgment, that there is no Allah but Allah, and that our Lord Mohammed is his servant, and his Prophet.† Amen! O Lord of the (three) worlds!'" ‡

After which, performing Ziyárat for ourselves §,

* It may easily be conceived how offensive this must be to the Wahhabis, who consider it blasphemy to assert that a mere man can stand between the Creator and the creature on the last day.

† This is called the Testification. Like the Fát-háh, it is repeated at every holy place and tomb visited at El Medinah.

‡ Burckhardt mentions that in his day, among other favours supplicated in prayer to the Deity, the following request was made,—"Destroy our enemies, and may the torments of hell-fire be their lot!" I never heard it at the Prophet's tomb.

As the above benediction is rather a long one, the Zair is allowed to shorten it *à discrétion*, but on no account to say less than "Peace be with thee, O Prophet of Allah"—this being the gist of the ceremony.

§ Though performing Ziyárat for myself, I had promised my old Shaykh at Cairo to recite a Fát-háh in his name at the Prophet's tomb; so a double recitation fell to my lot. If acting Zair for another person (a common custom we read, even in the days of El Walid, the Caliph of Damascus), you

we repeated the Fát-háh or "opening" chapter of the Koran.

"1. In the name of Allah, the merciful, the compassionate!

"2. Praise be to Allah, who the (three) worlds made.

"3. The merciful, the compassionate.

"4. The king of the day of fate.

"5. Thee (alone) do we worship, and of thee (alone) do we ask aid.

"6. Guide us to the path that is straight —

"7. The path of those for whom thy love is great, not those on whom is hate, nor they that deviate.

"Amen! O Lord of Angels, Ginns, and men!"*

After reciting this mentally with upraised hands, the forefinger of the right hand being ex-

are bound to mention your principal's name at the beginning of the benediction, thus: "Peace be with thee, O Prophet of Allah from such a one, the son of such a one, who wants thine intercession, and begs for pardon and mercy." Most Zairs recite Fát-háhs for all their friends and relations at the tomb.

* I have endeavoured in this translation to imitate the imperfect rhyme of the original Arabic. Such an attempt, however, is full of difficulties: the Arabic is a language in which, like Italian, it is almost impossible not to rhyme.

tended to its full length, we drew our palms down our faces and did alms-deeds, a vital part of the ceremony. Thus concludes the first part of the ceremony of visitation at the Prophet's tomb.

Hamid then stepped about a foot and a half to the right, and I followed his example, so as to place myself exactly opposite the second aperture in the grating called Abubekr's window. There, making a sign towards the mausoleum, we addressed its inmate as follows: "Peace be with thee, O Abubekr, O thou truthful one! Peace be with thee, O caliph of Allah's Prophet over his people! Peace be with thee, O Companion of the Cave, and friend in travel! Peace be with thee, O thou banner of the fugitives and the auxiliaries! I testify thou didst ever stand firm in the right way, and wast a smiter of the infidel, and a benefactor to thine own people. Allah grant thee through his Prophet weal! We pray Almighty God to cause us to die in thy friendship, and to raise us up in company with his Prophet and thyself, even as he hath mercifully vouchsafed to us this visitation." *

* It will not be necessary to inform the reader more than once that all these several divisions of prayer ended with the Testification and the Fát-háh.

After which we closed one more step to the right, and standing opposite Omar's window, the most easterly of the three, after making a sign with our hands, we addressed the just Caliph in these words: "Peace be with thee, O Omar! O thou just one! thou prince of true believers! Peace be with thee, who spakest with truth, and who madest thy word agree with the Strong Book! (the Koran), O thou Faruk.* Thou faithful one! who girdest thy loins with the Prophet, and the first believers, and with them didst make up the full number forty †, and thus causedst to be accomplished the Prophet's prayer ‡, and then didst return to thy God a martyr leaving the world with praise! Allah grant thee, through his Prophet and his Caliph and his followers, the best of good, and may Allah feel in thee all satisfaction!"

Shaykh Hamid, after wrenching a beggar or two from my shoulders, then permitted me to draw near to the little window, called the Prophet's,

* Faruk,—the separator,—a title of Omar.

† When the number of the *As-hab* or "Companions" was thirty-nine, they were suddenly joined by Omar, who thus became the fortieth.

‡ It is said that Mohammed prayed long for the conversion of Omar to El Islam, knowing his sterling qualities, and the aid he would lend to the establishment of the faith.

and to look in. Here my proceedings were watched with suspicious eyes. The Persians have sometimes managed to pollute the part near Abubekr's and Omar's graves by tossing through the aperture what is externally a handsome shawl intended as a present for the tomb.* After straining my eyes for a time I saw a curtain †,

* This foolish fanaticism has lost many an innocent life, for the Arabs on these occasions seize their sabres, and cut down every Persian they meet. Still, bigoted Shiahs persist in practising and applauding it, and the man who can boast at Shiraz of having defiled Abubekr's, Omar's, or Osman's tomb becomes at once a lion and a hero. I suspect that on some occasions when the people of El Medinah are anxious for an "avanie," they get up some charge of the kind against the Persians. So the Meccans have sometimes found these people guilty of defiling the house of Allah,—at which infidel act a Shiah would shudder as much as a Sunni. This style of sacrilege is, we read, of ancient date in Arabia. Nafil, the Hejazi, polluted the Kilis (Christian church) erected by Abrahah of Sanaa to outshine the Kaabah, and draw off worshippers from Meccah. The outrage caused the celebrated "affair of the Elephant." (See D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Or.* v. "Abrahah.")

† Burckhardt, with his usual accuracy, asserts that a new curtain is sent when the old one is decayed, or when a new Sultan ascends the throne, and those authors err who, like Maundrell, declare the curtain to be removed every year.

The Damascus caravan conveys, together with its Mahmal or emblem of royalty, the new Kiswah (or "garment") when required for the tomb. It is put on by the eunuchs, who enter the baldaquin by its northern gate at night time, and there is a

or rather hangings, with three inscriptions in large gold letters, informing readers, that behind them lie Allah's Prophet and the two first caliphs. The exact place of Mohammed's tomb is moreover distinguished by a large pearl rosary, and a peculiar ornament, the celebrated Kaukab el Durri, or constellation of pearls, suspended to the curtain breast high.* This is described to be

superstitious story amongst the people that they guard their eyes with veils against the supernatural splendours which pour from the tomb.

The Kiswah is a black, purple, or green brocade, embroidered with white or with silver letters. A piece in my possession, the gift of Omar Effendi, is a handsome silk and cotton Damascus brocade, with white letters worked in it — manifestly the produce of manual labour, not the poor dull work of machinery. It contains the formula of the Moslem faith in the cursive style of the Suls character, seventy-two varieties of which are enumerated by calligraphers. Nothing can be more elegant or appropriate than its appearance. The old curtain is usually distributed amongst the officers of the mosque, and sold in bits to pilgrims ; in some distant Moslem countries, the possessor of such a relic would be considered a saint. When treating of the history of the mosque, some remarks will be offered about the origin of this curtain.

* The place of the Prophet's head is, I was told, marked by a fine Koran hung up to the curtain! This volume is probably a successor to the relic formerly kept there, the Cufic Koran belonging to Osman, the fourth caliph, which Burckhardt supposes to have perished in the conflagration which destroyed the mosque.

a "brilliant star set in diamonds and pearls," and placed in the dark in order that man's eye may be able to bear its splendours: the vulgar believe it to be a "jewel of the jewels of Paradise." To me it greatly resembled the round stoppers of glass, used for the humbler sorts of decanters, but I never saw it quite near enough to judge fairly of it, and did not think fit to pay an exorbitant sum for the privilege of entering the inner passage of the baldaquin.* Altogether the *coup-d'œil* had nothing to recommend it by day. At night, when the lamps hung in this passage shed a dim light upon the mosaic work of the marble floors, upon the glittering inscriptions, and the massive hangings, the scene is more likely to become "ken-speckle."

Never having seen the tomb†, I must depict

* The eunuchs of the tomb have the privilege of admitting strangers. In this passage are preserved the treasures of the place; they are a "bait Mal el Muslimin," or public treasury of the Moslems; therefore to be employed by the Caliph (*i. e.* the reigning Sultan) for the exigencies of the faith. The amount is said to be enormous, which I doubt.

† And I might add, never having seen one who has seen it. Niebuhr is utterly incorrect in his hearsay description of it. It is not "enclosed within iron railings for fear lest the people might superstitiously offer worship to the ashes of the Prophet." The tomb is not "of plain mason-work in the form of a

it from books, by no means an easy task. Most of the historians are silent after describing the inner walls of the Hujrah. El Kalka-shandi declares "in eo lapidem nobilem continere sepulchra Apostoli, Abubecr et Omar, circumcinctum peribole in modum conclavis fere usque ad tectum assurgente quæ velo serico nigro obligatur." This author, then, agrees with my Persian friends, who declare the sepulchre to be a marble slab. Ibn Jubayr, who travelled A.H. 580, relates that the Prophet's coffin is a box of ebony (abnus) covered with sandal-wood, and plated with silver; it is placed, he says, behind a curtain, and surrounded by an iron grating. El Samanhudi *, quoted by Burckhardt, declares that the curtain covers

chest," nor does any one believe that it is "placed within or between two other tombs, in which rest the ashes of the two first caliphs." The traveller appears to have lent a credulous ear to the eminent Arab merchant, who told him that a guard was placed over the tomb to prevent the populace scraping dirt from about it, and preserving it as a relic.

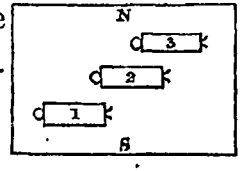
* Burckhardt writes this author's name El Samhoudy, and in this he is followed by all our popular book-makers. Moslems have three ways of spelling it: 1. El Samhudi, 2. El Samahnudi, and 3. El Samanhudi. I prefer the latter, believing that the learned Shaykh, Nur El Din Ali ben Abdullah El Hasani (or El Hosayni) was originally from Samanhud in Egypt, the ancient Sebennitis. He died in A.H. 911, and was buried in the Bakia cemetery.

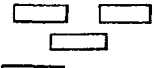
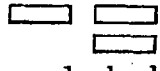
a square building of black stones, in the interior of which are the tombs of Mohammed and his two immediate successors. He adds that the tombs are deep holes, and that the coffin which contains the Prophet is cased with silver, and has on the top a marble slab inscribed "Bismillah! Allahumma salli alayh!" ("In the name of Allah! Allah have mercy upon him!") *

The Prophet's body, it should be remembered, lies, or is supposed to lie, stretched at full length on the right side, with the right palm supporting

* Burckhardt, however, must be in error when he says "The tombs are also covered with precious stuffs, and in the shape of catafalques, like that of Ibrahim in the great mosque of Meccah." The eunuchs positively declare that no one ever approaches the tomb, and that he who ventured to do so would at once be blinded by the supernatural light. Moreover the historians of El Medinah all quote tales of certain visions of the Prophet, directing his tomb to be cleared of dust that had fallen upon it from above, in which case some man celebrated for piety and purity was *let through a hole in the roof*, by cords, down to the tomb, with directions to wipe it with his beard. This style of ingress is explained by another assertion of El Samanhudi, quoted by Burckhardt. In A. H. 892, when Kaid-bey rebuilt the mosque, which had been destroyed by lightning, three deep graves were found in the inside, full of rubbish, but the author of this history, who himself entered it, saw no traces of tombs. The original place of Mohammed's tomb was ascertained with great difficulty: the walls of the Hujrah *were then rebuilt*, and the iron railing placed round it, which is now there."

the right cheek, the face fronting Meccah, as Moslems are always buried, and consequently the body lies with the head almost to due West and the feet to due East. Close behind him is placed Abubekr, whose face fronts the Prophet's shoulder *, and lastly Omar holds the same position with respect to his predecessor. The places they are usually supposed to occupy, then, would be thus disposed.




But Moslem historians are not agreed even upon so simple a point as this. Many prefer this position, in line  ; some thus, in unicorn,  ; and others the right angle. † 

It is popularly believed that in the Hujrah there is now spare place for only a single grave, which

* Upon this point authors greatly disagree. Ibn Jubayr, for instance, says, that Abubekr's head is opposite the Prophet's feet, and that Omar's face is on a level with Abubekr's shoulder.

† The vulgar story of the suspended coffin has been explained in two ways. Niebuhr supposes it to have arisen from the rude drawings sold to strangers. Mr. William Bankes (Giovanni Finati, vol. ii. p. 289.) more sensibly believes that the mass of rock popularly described as hanging unsupported in the mosque of Omar at Jerusalem, was confounded by Christians, who could not have seen either of these Moslem shrines, with the Prophet's Tomb at El Medinah.

is reserved for Isa ben Maryam after his second coming. The historians of El Islam are full of tales proving that though many of their early saints, as Osman the Caliph and Hasan the Imam, were desirous of being buried there, and that although Ayisha, to whom the room belonged, willingly acceded to their wishes, son of man has as yet been unable to occupy it.

After the Fát-háh pronounced at Omar's tomb, and the short inspection of the Hujrah, Shaykh Hamid led me round the south-east corner of the baldaquin.* Turning towards the north we

* Some Moslems end their Ziyárat at the Prophet's Tomb; others, instead of advancing, as I did, return to the Prophet's window, pray, and beg pardon for their parents and themselves, and ask all they desire, concluding with prayers to the Almighty. Thence they repair to the Rauzah or Garden, and standing at the column called after Abu Lubabah, pray a two-prostration prayer there; concluding with the "Dua," or benediction upon the Prophet, and there repeat these words: "O Allah, thou hast said, and thy word is true, 'Say, O Lord, pardon and show mercy; for thou art the best of the Merciful,' (chap. 23). O God, verily we have heard thy word, and we come for intercession to thy Prophet from our own sins, repenting our errors, and confessing our shortcomings and transgressions! O Allah, pity us, and by the dignity of thy Prophet raise our place, (in the heavenly Kingdom)! O Allah, pardon our brothers who have preceded us in 'the Faith!'" Then the Zair prays for himself, and his parents, and for those he loves. He should repeat, "Allah have mercy upon thee,

stopped at what is commonly called the Mahbat Jibrail, ("Place of the Archangel Gabriel's Descent with the Heavenly Revelations,") or simply El Malaikah — the Angels. It is a small window in the eastern wall of the mosque; we turned our backs upon it, and fronting the Hujrah, recited the following prayer:—

"Peace be with you, ye Angels of Allah, the Mukarrabin (cherubs), and the Musharrifin (seraphs), the pure, the holy, honoured by the dwellers in heaven, and by those who abide upon the earth. O beneficent Lord! O long-suffering! O Almighty! O Pitier! O thou Compassionate One! perfect our light, and pardon our sins, and accept penitence for our offences, and cause us to die among the holy! Peace be with

O Prophet of Allah!" seventy times, when an angel will reply, "Allah bless thee, O thou blesser!" Then he should sit before the pulpit, and mentally conceive in it the Prophet surrounded by the Fugitives and the Auxiliaries. Some place the right hand upon the pulpit, even as Mohammed used to do.

The Zair then returns to the column of Abu Lubabah, and repents his sins there. Secondly, he stands in prayer at Ali's pillar in front of the form. And, lastly, he repairs to the Ustuwanat el As-hab, (the Companion's Column,) the fourth distant from the pulpit on the right, and the third from the Hujrah on the left; here he prays, and meditates, and blesses Allah and the Prophet. After which, he proceeds to visit the rest of the holy places.

ye, Angels of the Merciful, one and all! And the mercy of God and his blessings be upon you!" After which I was shown the spot in the Hujrah where Sayyidna Isa shall be buried * by Mohammed's side.

Then turning towards the west, at a point where there is a break in the symmetry of the Hujrah, we arrived at the sixth station, the sepulchre or cenotaph of the Lady Fatimah. Her grave is outside the enceinte and the curtain which surrounds her father's remains, so strict is Moslem decorum, and so exalted its opinion of the "Virgin's" † delicacy; the eastern side of the

* It is almost unnecessary to inform the reader that all Moslems deny the personal suffering of Christ, cleaving to the heresy of the Christian Docetes,—certain "beasts in the shape of men," as they are called in the Epistles of Ignatius to the Smyrneans,—who believed that a phantom was crucified in our Saviour's place. They also hold to the second coming of the Lord in the flesh, as a forerunner to Mohammed, who shall reappear shortly before the day of judgment.

Bartema (Appendix 2.) relates a story concerning the Saviour's future tomb.

† This epithet will be explained below. The reader will bear in mind, that this part of the Haram was formerly the house of Ali and Fatimah; it was separated from the Hujrah —the abode of Mohammed and Ayisha—only by a narrow brick wall, with a window in it, which was never shut. Omar Ben Abd-el-Aziz enclosed it in the mosque, by order of El Walid, A. H. 90.

Hujrah, here turning a little westward, interrupting the shape of the square, in order to give this spot the appearance of disconnection with the rest of the building. The tomb, seen through a square aperture like those above described, is a long catafalque, covered with a black pall. Though there is great doubt whether the lady be not buried with her son Hasan in the Bakia cemetery, this place is always visited by the pious Moslem. The following is the prayer opposite the grave of the amiable Fatimah:—

"Peace be with thee, daughter of the Messenger of Allah! Peace be with thee, daughter of the Prophet of Allah! Peace be with thee, thou daughter of Mustafa! Peace be with thee, thou mother of the Shurafa! * Peace be with thee, O Lady amongst women! Peace be with thee, O fifth of the Ahl El Kisa! † Peace be with thee, O Zahra and Batúl! ‡ Peace be with thee, O daughter of the Prophet! Peace be with thee, O

* Plural of Sherif, a descendant of Mohammed.

† The "people of the garment," so called, because on one occasion the Prophet wrapped his cloak around himself, his daughter, his son-in-law, and his two grandsons, thereby separating them in dignity from other Moslems.

‡ Burckhardt translates "Zahra" "bright blooming Fatimah." This I believe to be the literal meaning of the epithet.

spouse of our lord Ali El Murtaza! Peace be with thee, O mother of Hasan and Hosayn, the two moons, the two lights, the two pearls, the two princes of the youth of heaven, and gladness of the eyes * of true believers! Peace be with thee and with thy sire, El Mustafa, and thy husband, our lord Ali! Allah honour his face, and thy face, and thy father's face in Paradise, and thy two sons the Hasanayn! And the mercy of Allah and his blessings!" (Concluding with the Testification and the Fát-háh.)

We then broke away as we best could from the crowd of female "askers," who have established their Lares and Penates under the shadow of the Lady's wing, and, advancing a few paces, we fronted to the north, and recited a prayer in honour of Hamzah, and the martyrs who lie buried at the foot of Mount Ohod.† We then turned to the

When thus applied, however, it denotes "virginem τα καταμηνια nescientem," in which state of purity the daughter of the Prophet is supposed to have lived. For the same reason she is called El Batúl, the Virgin,—a title given by Eastern Christians to the Mother of our Lord. The perpetual virginity of Fatimah, even after the motherhood, is a point of orthodoxy in El Islam.

* Meaning "joy and gladness in the sight of true believers."

† The prayer is now omitted, in order to avoid the repetition of it when describing a visit to Mount Ohod.

right, and, fronting the easterly wall, prayed for the souls of the blessed whose mortal spirits repose within El Bakia's hallowed circuit.*

After this we returned to the southern wall of the mosque, and, facing towards Meccah, we recited the following supplication:—"O Allah! (three times repeated), O Compassionate! O Beneficent! O Registrar (of good and evil)! O Prince! O Ruler! O ancient of Benefits! O Omniscient! O thou who givest when asked, and who aidest when aid is required, accept this our Visitation, and preserve us from dangers, and make easy our affairs, and expand our chests †, and receive our prostration, and requite us according to our good deeds, and turn not our evil deeds against us, and place not over us one who feareth not thee, and one who pitieth not us, and write safety and health upon us and upon thy slaves, the Hujjaj, and the Ghuzat, and the Zawwar ‡, and the home-dwellers and the

* The prayers usually recited here are especially in honour of Abbas, Hasan, (Ali, called) Zayn-El-Abidin, Osman, the Lady Halimah, the Martyrs, and the Mothers of the Moslems, (*i. e.* the Prophet's wives), buried in the holy cemetery. When describing a visit to El Bakia, they will be translated at full length.

† That is to say, "gladden our hearts."

‡ Hujjaj is the plural of Hajj — pilgrims; Ghuzat, of Ghazi—crusaders; and Zawwar of Zair—visitors to Mohammed's tomb.

wayfarers of the Moslems, by land and by sea, and pardon those of the faith of our lord Mohammed one and all!" (Then the Testification and the Fát-háh.)

From the southern wall we returned to the "Prophet's Window," where we recited the following tetrastich and prayer.

"O Mustafa! verily, I stand at thy door,
A man, weak and fearful, by reason of my sins:
If thou aid me not, O Prophet of Allah!
I die—for, in the world there is none generous as thou art!"

"Of a truth, Allah and his Angels bless the Prophet! O ye who believe, bless him and salute him with salutation!* O Allah! verily I implore thy pardon, and supplicate therefore thine aid in this world as in the next! O Allah! O Allah! abandon us not in this holy place to the consequences of our sins without pardoning them, or to our griefs without consoling them, or to our fears, O Allah! without removing them. And blessings and salutation to thee, O Prince of Prophets, Commissioned (to preach the word), and praise to Allah the lord of the (three) worlds!" (Then the Testification and the Fát-háh.)

* "Taslím" is "to say Salám" to a person.

We turned away from the Hujrah, and after gratifying a meek-looking but exceedingly importunate Indian beggar, who insisted on stunning me with the Chapter Y, S *, we fronted southwards, and taking care that our backs should not be in a line with the Prophet's face, stood opposite the niche called Mihrab Osman. There Hamid proceeded with another supplication. "O Allah! (three times repeated), O Safeguard of the fearful, and defender of those who trust in thee, and pitier of the weak, the poor, and the destitute! accept us, O Beneficent! and pardon us, O Merciful! and receive our penitence, O Compassionate! and have mercy upon us, O Forgiver! —for verily none but thou can remit sin! Of a truth thou alone knowest the hidden and veilest man's transgressions: veil, then, our offences, and pardon our sins, and expand our chests, and cause our last words at the supreme hour of life to be the words, 'There is no God but Allah †, and our lord Mohammed is the Prophet of Allah!' O

* The Ya, Sin (Y, S), the 36th chapter of the Koran, frequently recited by those whose profession it is to say such masses for the benefit of living, as well as of dead, sinners. Most educated Moslems commit it to memory.

† (Or more correctly, "There is no Ilah but Allah," that is, "There is no *Deity* but God.")

Allah! cause us to live according to this saying, O thou Giver of life! and make us to die in this faith, O thou Ruler of death! And the best of blessings and the completest of salutations upon the sole Lord of Intercession, our Lord Mohammed and his family, and his companions one and all!" (Then the Testification and the Fát-háh.)

Lastly, we returned to the Garden*, and prayed another two-prostration prayer, ending, as we began, with the worship of the Creator.

* * * * *

Unfortunately for me, the boy Mohammed had donned that grand embroidered coat. At the end of the ceremony the Aghas, or eunuchs of the mosque, — a race of men considered respectable by their office, and prone to make themselves respected by the freest administration of club law,—assembled in El Rauzat to offer me the congratulation "Ziyáratak Mubárak"—"blessed be thy visitation," and to demand fees. Then came the Sakka, or water-carrier of the Zemzem†, offering a tinned

* Some Zairs, after praying at the Caliph Osman's niche, leave the mosque, especially when the "Jamaat," or public worship, is not being performed in the Rauzat. Others, as we did, pray alone in the Garden, and many authors prefer this conclusion to Visitation, for the reason above given.

† This has become a generic name for a well situated within the walls of a mosque.

saucer filled from the holy source. And lastly I was beset by beggars,—some mild beggars and picturesque, who sat upon the ground immersed in the contemplation of their napkins; others angry beggars, who cursed if they were not gratified; and others noisy and petulant beggars, especially the feminine party near the Lady's tomb, who captured me by the skirt of my garment, compelling me to ransom myself. There were, besides, pretty beggars, boys who held out the right hand on the score of good looks; ugly beggars, emaciated rascals whose long hair, dirt, and leanness entitled them to charity; and lastly, the blind, the halt, and the diseased, who, as sons of the Holy City, demanded from the Faithful that support with which they could not provide themselves. Having been compelled by my companions, highly against my inclination, to become a man of rank, I was obliged to pay in proportion, and my almoner in the handsome coat, as usual, took a kind of pride in being profuse. This first visit cost me double what I had intended—four dollars — nearly one pound sterling, and never afterwards could I pay less than half that sum.*

* As might be expected, the more a man pays, the higher he estimates his own dignity. Some Indians have spent as

Having now performed all the duties of a good Zair, I was permitted by Shaykh Hamid to wander about and see the sights. We began our circumambulation at the Bab el Salam *,—the Gate of Salvation,—in the southern portion of the western long wall of the mosque. It is a fine archway handsomely incrusted with marble and glazed tiles; the number of gilt inscriptions on its sides give it, especially at night-time, an appearance of considerable splendour. The portcullis-like doors are of wood, strengthened with brass plates, and nails of the same metal. Outside this gate is a little Sabil, or public fountain, where those who will not pay for the water, kept ready in large earthern jars by the "Sakka" of the mosque, perform their ablutions gratis. Here all the mendicants congregate in force, sitting on the outer steps and at the entrance of the mosque, up and through which the visitors must pass. About the centre of the western wall is the Bab el Rahmah — the Gate of

much as 500 dollars during a first visit. Others have "made maulids," *i. e.* feasted all the poor connected with the temple with rice, meat, &c., whilst others brought rare and expensive presents for the officials. Such generosity, however, is becoming rare in these unworthy days.

* This gate was anciently called the Bab el Atákah, "of Deliverance."

Pity. It admits the dead bodies of the Faithful when carried to be prayed over in the mosque; there is nothing remarkable in its appearance; in common with the other gates it has huge folding doors, iron-bound, an external flight of steps, and a few modern inscriptions. The Bab Mejídi or Gate (of the Sultan Abd el) Mejid stands in the centre of the northern wall; like its portico, it is unfinished, but its present appearance promises that it will eclipse all except the Bab el Salam. The Bab el Nisa is in the eastern wall opposite the Bab el Rahmah, with which it is connected by the "Farsh el Hajar," a broad band of stone, two or three steps below the level of the portico, and slightly raised above the Sahn or the hypæthral portion of the mosque. And lastly in the southern portion of the same eastern wall is the Bab Jibrail, the Gate of the Archangel Gabriel.* All these entrances are arrived at by short external flights

* Most of these entrances have been named and renamed. The Bab Jibrail, for instance, which derives its present appellation from the general belief that the archangel once passed through it, is generally called in books Bab el Jabr, the Gate of Repairing (the broken fortunes of a friend or follower). It must not be confounded with the Mahbat Jibrail, or the window near it in the eastern wall, where the archangel usually descended from heaven with the Wahy or Inspiration.

of steps leading from the streets, as the base of the temple, unlike that of Meccah, is a little higher than the foundations of the buildings around it. The doors are closed by the eunuchs in attendance immediately after the night prayers, except during the blessed month El Ramazan, and the pilgrimage season, when a number of pious visitors pay considerable fees to pass the night there in meditation and prayer.

The minarets are five in number; but one, the Shikayliyah, at the north-west angle of the building, has been levelled, and is still in process of being re-built. The Munar Bab el Salam stands by the gate of that name: it is a tall handsome tower surmounted by a large bull, or cow, of brass gilt or burnished. The Munar Bab el Rahmah, about the centre of the western wall, is of more simple form than the others: it has two galleries with the superior portion circular, and surmounted by the comical "extinguisher" roof so common in Turkey and Egypt. On the north-east angle of the mosque stands the Sulaymaníyah Munar, so named after its founder, Sultan Sulayman the Magnificent. It is a well-built and a substantial stone tower divided into three stages; the two lower portions are polygonal,

the upper one circular, and each terminates in a platform with a railed gallery carried all round for the protection of those who ascend. And lastly, from the south-east angle of the mosque, supposed to lie upon the spot where Belal, the Prophet's crier, called the first Moslems to prayer*, springs the Munar Raisiyah, so called because it is appropriated to the Ruasa or chiefs of the Muezzins. Like the Sulaymaníyah, it consists of three parts: the first and second stages are polygonal, and the third, a circular one, is furnished like the lower two with a railed gallery. Both the latter minarets end in solid ovals of masonry, from which project a number of wooden triangles.† To these and to the galleries on all festive occasions, such as the arrival of the Damascus caravan, are hung oil lamps—a poor attempt at illumination, which may perhaps rationally explain the origin of the Medinite superstition concerning the column of light which crowns the Prophet's tomb. There is no uniformity in the shape or the size of these four minarets, and at first sight,

* Belál, the loud-lunged crier, stood, we are informed by Moslem historians, upon a part of the roof on one of the walls of the mosque. The minarét, as the next chapter will show, was the invention of a more tasteful age.

† (As on all the minarets of Cairo.)

despite their beauty and grandeur, they appear somewhat bizarre and misplaced. But after a few days I found that my eye grew accustomed to them, and that I had no difficulty in appreciating their massive proportions and lofty forms.

Equally irregular are the Riwaks, or porches, surrounding the hypæthral court. Along the northern wall there will be, when finished, a fine colonnade of granite, paved with marble. The eastern Riwak has three rows of pillars, the western four, and the southern, under which stands the tomb, of course has its columns ranged deeper than all the others. These supports of the building are of different material; some of fine marble, others of rough stone merely plastered over and painted with the most vulgar of arabesques, vermilion and black in irregular patches, and broad streaks like the stage face of a London clown.* Their size moreover is different, the southern colonnade being composed of pillars palpably larger than those in the other parts of the mosque. Scarcely any two shafts had similar capitals; many have no pedestal, and some of them are cut with a

* This abomination may be seen in Egypt on many of the tombs,—those outside the Bal el Nasr at Cairo, for instance.



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painful ignorance of art. I cannot extend my admiration of the minarets to the columns—in *their* "architectural lawlessness" there was not a redeeming point.

Of these unpraisable pillars three are celebrated in the annals of El Islam, for which reason their names are painted upon them, and five others enjoy the honour of distinctive appellations. The first is called El Mukhallak, because, on some occasion of impurity, it was anointed with a perfume called Khaluk. It is near the Mihrab el Nabawi, on the right of the place where the Imam prays, and notes the spot where, before the invention of the pulpit, the Prophet, leaning upon the Ustuwanat el Hannanah —the weeping Pillar *—used to recite the Khutbah or Friday sermon. The second stands third from the pulpit, and third from the Hujrah. It is called the Pillar of Ayisha, also the Ustuwanat el Kurah, or the column of Lots, because the Prophet, according to the testimony of his favourite wife, declared that if men knew the value of the place, they would cast lots to

* The tale of this weeping pillar is well known. Some suppose it to have been buried beneath the pulpit: others—they are few in number—declare that it was inserted in the body of the pulpit.

pray there: in some books it is known as the pillar of the Muhajirin or Fugitives, and others mention it as El Mukhallak—the Perfumed. Twenty cubits distant from Ayisha's pillar, and the second from the Hujrah and the fourth from the pulpit, is the Pillar of Repentance, or of Abu Lubabah. It derives its name from the following circumstance. Abu Lubabah was a native of El Medinah, one of the auxiliaries and a companion of Mohammed, originally it is said a Jew, according to others of the Beni Amr ebn Auf of the Aus tribe. Being sent for by his kinsmen or his allies, the Beni Kurayzah, at that time capitulating to Mohammed, he was consulted by the distracted tribe: men, women and children threw themselves at his feet, and begged of him to intercede for them with the offended Prophet. Abu Lubabah swore he would do so: at the same time, he drew his hand across his throat, as much as to say, "Defend yourselves to the last, for if you yield, such is your doom." Afterwards repenting, he bound himself with a huge chain to the date-tree in whose place the column now stands, vowing to continue there until Allah and the Prophet accepted his penitence—a circumstance which did not take place

till the tenth day, when his hearing was gone and he had almost lost his sight. The less celebrated pillars are the Ustuwanat Sarír, or column of the Cot, where the Prophet was wont to sit meditating on his humble couch of date-sticks. The Ustuwanat Ali notes the spot where the fourth caliph used to pray and watch his father-in-law at night. At the Ustuwanat el Wufud, as its name denotes, the Prophet received envoys, couriers, and emissaries from foreign places. The Ustuwanat el Tahajjud now stands where Mohammed sitting upon his mat passed the night in prayer. And lastly is the Makam Jibrail (Gabriel's place), for whose other name, Mirbaat el Bair, "the pole of the beast of burden," I have been unable to find an explanation.

The four Riwaks, or porches, of the Medinah mosque open upon a hypæthral court of parallelogrammic shape. The only remarkable object in it* is a square of wooden railing enclosing a place full of well-watered earth, called the

* The little domed building which figures in the native sketches, and in all our prints of the El Medinah mosque, was taken down three or four years ago. It occupied part of the centre of the square, and was called Kubbat el Zayt—Dome of Oil—or Kubbat el Shama—Dome of Candles—from its use as a store-room for lamps and wax candles.

Garden of our Lady Fatimah.* It now contains a dozen date-trees—in Ibn Jubayr's time there were fifteen. Their fruit is sent by the eunuchs as presents to the Sultan and the great men of the Islam; it is highly valued by the vulgar, but the Ulema do not think much of its claims to importance. Among the palms are the venerable remains of a Sidr, or Lote tree, whose produce † is sold for inordinate sums. The enclosure is entered by a dwarf gate in the south-eastern portion of the railing, near the well, and one of the eunuchs is generally to be seen in it: it is under the charge of the Mudir, or chief treasurer. These gardens are not uncommon in Moslem mosques, as the traveller who passes through Cairo can convince himself. They

* This is its name among the illiterate, who firmly believe the palms to be descendants of trees planted there by the hands of the Prophet's daughter. As far as I could discover, the tradition has no foundation, and in old times there was no garden in the hypæthral court. The vulgar are in the habit of eating a certain kind of date, "El Say hani," in the mosque, and of throwing the stones about; this practice is violently denounced by the Ulema.

† Rhamnus Nabeca, Forsk. The fruit, called Nebek, is eaten, and the leaves are used for the purpose of washing dead bodies. The visitor is not forbidden to take fruit or water as presents from El Medinah, but it is unlawful for him to carry away earth, or stones, or cakes of dust, made for sale to the ignorant.

form a pretty and an appropriate feature in a building erected for the worship of Him "who spread the earth with carpets of flowers and drew shady trees from the dead ground." A tradition of the Prophet also declares that "acceptable is devotion in the garden and in the orchard." At the south-east angle of the enclosure, under a wooden roof supported by pillars of the same material, stands the Zemzem, generally called the Bir el Nabi, or "the Prophet's well." My predecessor declares that the brackishness of its produce has stood in the way of its reputation for holiness. Yet a well educated man told me that it was as "light" water* as any in El Medinah,—a fact which he accounted for by supposing a subterraneous passage† which connects it with the great Zemzem at Meccah.

* The Arabs, who, like all Orientals, are exceedingly curious about water, take the trouble to weigh the produce of their wells; the lighter the water, the more digestible and wholesome it is considered.

† The common phenomenon of rivers flowing underground in Arabia has, doubtless, suggested to the people these subterraneous passages, with which they connect the most distant places. At El Medinah, amongst other tales of short cuts known only to certain Bedouin families, a man told me of a shaft leading from his native city to Hadramaut: according to him, it existed in the times of the Prophet, and was a journey of only three days!

Others, again, believe that it is filled by a vein of water springing directly under the Prophet's grave: generally, however, among the learned it is not more revered than our Lady's Garden, nor is it ranked in books among the holy wells of El Medinah. Between this Zemzem and the eastern Riwak is the Stoa, or academia, of the Prophet's city. In the cool mornings and evenings the ground is strewed with professors, who teach, as an eminent orientalist hath it, the young idea to shout rather than to shoot.* A few feet to the south of the palm garden is a moveable wooden planking painted green, and about three feet high; it serves to separate the congregation from the Imam when he prays here; and at the north-eastern angle of the enclosure is a Shajar Kanadíl, a large brass chandelier which completes the furniture of the court.

After this inspection, the shadows of evening began to gather round us. We left the mosque, reverently taking care to issue forth with the left

* The Mosque Library is kept in large chests near the Bab el Salam; the only MS. of any value here is a Korán written in the Sulsi hand. It is nearly four feet long, bound in a wooden cover, and padlocked, so as to require from the curious a "silver key."

foot and not to back out of it as in the Sunnat, or practice derived from the Prophet, when taking leave of the Meccan mosque.

To conclude this long chapter. Although every Moslem, learned and simple, firmly believes that Mohammed's remains are interred in the Hujrah at El Medinah, I cannot help suspecting that the place is at least as doubtful as that of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. It must be remembered that a great tumult followed the announcement of the Prophet's death, when the people, as often happens*, believing him to be immortal, refused to credit the report, and even Omar threatened destruction to any one that asserted it. Moreover the body was scarcely cold when the contest about the succession arose between the fugitives of Meccah and the auxiliaries of El Medinah: in the ardour of which, according to the Shiahs, the house of Ali and Fatimah,—within a few feet of the spot where the tomb of the Prophet is now

* So the peasants in Brittany believe that Napoleon the First is not yet dead; the Prussians expect Frederick the Second; the Swiss, William Tell; the older English, King Arthur; and certain modern fanatics look forward to the reappearance of Joanna Southcote. Why multiply instances in so well known a branch of the history of popular superstitions?

placed—was threatened with fire, and that Abubekr was elected caliph that same evening. If any one find cause to wonder that the last resting-place of a personage so important was not fixed for ever, he may find many a parallel case in El Medinah. To quote no other, three places claim the honour of containing the Lady Fatimah's mortal spoils, although one might suppose that the daughter of the Prophet and the mother of the Imams would not be laid in an unknown grave. My reasons for incredulity are the following:

1. From the earliest days the shape of the Prophet's tomb has never been generally known in El Islam. For this reason it is that graves are made convex in some countries, and flat in others: had there been a Sunnat *, this would not have been the case.

2. The discrepant accounts of the learned. El Samanhudi, perhaps the highest authority, contradicts himself. In one place he describes the coffin; in another he expressly declares that he entered the Hujrah when it was being repaired by Kaid-bey, and saw in the inside three deep graves,

* The Sunnat is the custom or practice of the Prophet, rigidly conformed to by every good and orthodox Moslem.

but no traces of tombs.* Either, then, the mortal remains of the Prophet had — despite Moslem superstition †— mingled with the dust, (a probable circumstance after nearly 900 years' interment,) or, what is more likely, they had been removed by the Shiah schismatics who for centuries had charge of the sepulchre.

* The reader will bear in mind that I am quoting from Burckhardt. When in El Hejaz and at Cairo, I vainly endeavoured to buy a copy of El Samanhudi. One was shown to me at El Medinah; unhappily, it bore the word Wakf, (bequeathed,) and belonged to the mosque. I was scarcely allowed time to read it.

† In Moslem law, prophets, martyrs, and saints, are not supposed to be dead; their property, therefore, remains their own. The Ulema have confounded themselves in the consideration of the prophetic state after death. Many declare that prophets live and pray for forty days in the tomb; at the expiration of which time, they are taken to the presence of their Maker, where they remain till the blast of Israfil's trumpet. The common belief, however, leaves the bodies in the graves, but no one would dare to assert that the holy ones are suffered to undergo corruption. On the contrary, their faces are blooming, their eyes bright, and blood would issue from their bodies if wounded.

El Islam, as will afterwards appear, abounds in traditions of the ancient tombs of saints and martyrs, when accidentally opened, exposing to view corpses apparently freshly buried. And it has come to pass that this fact, the result of sanctity, has now become an unerring indication of it. A remarkable case in point is that of the late Sherif Ghalib, the father of the

3. And lastly, I cannot but look upon the tale of the blinding light which surrounds the Prophet's tomb, and now universally believed upon the authority of the attendant eunuchs, who must know its falsehood, as a priestly gloss intended to conceal a defect.

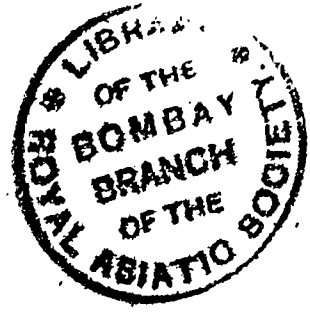
I here conclude the subject, committing it to some future and more favoured investigator. In offering the above remarks, I am far from wishing to throw a doubt upon an established point of history. But where a suspicion of fable arises from popular "facts," a knowledge of man and of his manners teaches us to regard it with favouring eye.*

present prince of Meccah. In his lifetime he was reviled as a wicked tyrant. But some years after his death, his body was found undecomposed; he then became a saint, and men now pray at his tomb. Perhaps his tyranny was no drawback to his holy reputation. La Brinvilliers was declared after execution, by her confessor and the people generally, a saint—simply, I presume, because of the enormity of her crimes.

* I was careful to make a ground plan of the Prophet's mosque, as Burckhardt was prevented by severe illness from so doing. It will give the reader a fair idea of the main point, though, in certain minor details, it is not to be trusted. Some of my papers and sketches, which by precaution I had among my medicines, after cutting them into squares, numbering them, and rolling them carefully up, were damaged by the

breaking of a bottle. The plan of El Medjnah is slightly altered from Burckhardt's.

Nothing can be more ludicrous than the views of the Holy City, as printed in our popular works. They are of the style "bird's-eye," and present a curious perspective. They despise distance like the Chinese,— pictorially audacious; the Harrat or ridge in the foreground appears to be 200 yards, instead of 3 or 4 miles, distant from the town. They strip the place of its suburb El Munakhah, in order to show the enceinte, omit the fort, and the gardens north and south of the city, enlarge the mosque twenty-fold for dignity, and make it occupy the whole centre of the city, instead of a small corner in the south-east quarter. They place, for symmetry, towers only at the angles of the walls, instead of all along the curtain, and gather up and press into the same field all the venerable and interesting features of the country, those behind the artist's back, and at his sides, as well as what appears in front. Such are the Turkish lithographs. At Meccah, some Indians support themselves by depicting the holy shrines; their works are a truly Oriental mixture of ground plan and elevation, drawn with pen and ink, and brightened with the most vivid colours— grotesque enough, but less unintelligible than the more ambitious imitations of European art.


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## CHAP. XVII.

### AN ESSAY TOWARDS THE HISTORY OF THE PROPHET'S MOSQUE.

IBN ABBAS has informed the world that when the eighty individuals composing Noah's family issued from the ark, they settled at a place distant ten marches and 12 parasangs* from Babel or Babylon. There they increased and multiplied and spread into a mighty empire. At length under the rule of Namrud (Nimrod), son of Kanaan (Canaan), son of Ham, they lapsed from the worship of the true God: a miracle dispersed them into distant parts of the earth, and they were further broken up by the one primeval language being divided into seventy-two dialects. A tribe called Aulad Sam ben Nuh (the children of Shem), or Amalikah and Amalik†, from their ancestor Amlak ben Arfakh-

* In Oriental geography the parasang still, as in the days of Pliny, greatly varies, from 1500 to 6000 yards. Captain Francklin, whose opinion is generally taken, makes it (in his Tour to Persia) a measure of about four miles (Preface to Ibn Haukal, by Sir Gore Ouseley).

† M. C. de Perceval (*Essai sur l'Histoire des Arabes avant*

shad ben Sam ben Nuh, was inspired with a knowledge of the Arabic tongue*: it settled at El Medinah, and was the first to cultivate the ground and to plant palm trees. In course of time these people extended over the whole tract between the seas of El Hejaz (the Red Sea) and El Oman, (a part of the Indian Ocean,) and they became the progenitors of the Jabábirah † of Syria as well as the Fárainah (Pharaohs) of Egypt.‡ Under these

*l'Islamisme*), makes Amlak son of Laoud (Lud), son of Shem, or, according to others, son of Ham. That learned writer identifies the Amalik with the Phœnicians, the Amalekites, the Canaanites, and the Hyksos. He alludes, also, to an ancient tradition which makes them to have colonised Barbary in Africa.

* The Dabistan el Mazahib relates a tradition that the Almighty, when addressing the angels, in command uses the Arabic tongue, but when speaking in mercy or beneficence, the Deri dialect of Persian.

† These were the giants who fought against Israel in Palestine.

‡ In this wild tradition we find a confirmation of the sound geographical opinion which makes Arabia "Une des pépinières du genre humain" (M. Jomard). It must be remembered that the theatre of all earliest civilisation has been a fertile valley with a navigable stream, like Sindh, Egypt, and Mesopotamia. The existence of such a spot in Arabia would have altered every page of her history; she would then have become a centre, not a source of civilisation. As it is, her immense population—still thick, even in the deserts—has, from the earliest ages, been impelled by drought, famine, or desire of

Amalik such was the age of man that during the space of 400 years a bier would not be seen, or keening be heard, in their cities.

The last king of the Amalik, "Arkam ben el Arkam *," was, according to most authors, slain

conquest, to emigrate into happier regions. All history mentions two main streams which took their rise in the wilds of the great peninsula:—the first set to the north-east, through Persia, Mekran, Beloochistan, Sindh, the Afghan Mountains as far as Samarcand, Bokhara, and Tibet; the other, flowing towards the north-west, passed through Egypt and Barbary into Etruria, Spain, the Isles of the Mediterranean, and southern France. There are two minor immigrations chronicled in history, and written in the indelible characters of physiognomy and philology. One of these set in an exiguous but perennial stream towards India, especially Malabar, where, mixing with the people of the country, the Arab merchants became the progenitors of the Moplah race. The other was a partial immigration, also for commercial purposes, to the coast of Berbera, in Eastern Africa, where, mixing with the Galla tribes, the people of Hazramaut became the sires of the extensive Somáli nations. Thus we have from Arabia four different lines of immigration, tending N.E. and S.E., N.W. and S.W.

At some future time I hope to develope this curious but somewhat obscure portion of Arabian history. It bears upon a most interesting subject, and serves to explain, by the consanguinity of races, the marvellous celerity with which the faith of El Islam spread from the Pillars of Hercules to the confines of China—embracing part of Southern Europe, the whole of Northern and a portion of Central Africa, and at least three-fourths of the continent of Asia.

* Of this name M. C. de Perceval remarks, "Le mot Arcam

by an army of the children of Israel sent by Moses after the Exodus *, with orders thoroughly to purge Meccah and El Medinah of its infidel inhabitants. All the tribe was destroyed, with the exception of the women, the children, and a youth of the royal family, whose extraordinary beauty persuaded the invaders to spare him pending a reference to the Prophet. When the army returned, they found that Moses had died during the expedition, and they were received with reproaches by the people for having violated his express command. The soldiers, unwilling to live with their own nation under this reproach, returned to El Hejaz, and settled there. Moslem authors are agreed that after the Amalik, the Beni Israel ruled in the Holy Land of Arabia, but the learned in history are not agreed upon the cause of their emigration. According to some, when Moses was returning from a pilgrimage to Meccah, a multitude of his followers, seeing in El Medinah the signs of the city which,

était une désignation commune à tous ces rois." He identifies it with Rekem (Numbers xxxi. 8.), one of the kings of the Midianites; and recognises in the preservation of the royal youth the history of Agag and Samuel.

* And some most ignorantly add, "after the entrance of Moses into the Promised Land."

according to the Taurat, or Pentateuch, should hear the preaching of the last Prophet, settled there and were joined by many Bedouins of the neighbourhood who conformed to the law of Moses. Ibn Shaybah also informs us that when Moses and Aaron were wending northwards from Meccah, they, being in fear of certain Jews settled at El Medinah, did not enter the city *, but pitched their tents on Mount Ohod. Aaron being about to die, Moses dug his tomb, and said, " Brother, thine hour is come! turn thy face to the next world! " Aaron entered the grave, lay at full length, and immediately expired, upon which the Jewish lawgiver covered him with earth, and went his way towards the Promised Land.† Abu Hurayrah asserted that the Beni Israel, after long searching, settled in El Medinah, because, when driven from Palestine by the in-

* In those days, we are told, the Jews, abandoning their original settlement in El Ghabbah or the low lands to the N. of the town, migrated to the highest portions of the Medinah plain on the S. and E., and the lands in the neighbourhood of the Kuba mosque.

† When describing Ohod, I shall have occasion to allude to Aaron's dome, which occupies the highest part. Few authorities, however, believe that Aaron was buried there; his grave, under a small stone cupola, is shown over the summit of Mount Hor, in the Sinaitic Peninsula, and is much visited by devotees.

vasion of Bukht el Nasr (Nebuchadnezzar), they found in their books that the last Prophet would manifest himself in a town, of the towns of Arabiyat*, called Zat Nakhl, or the "place of palm trees." Some of the sons of Aaron occupied the city; other tribes settled at Khaybar †, and in the neighbourhood, building "Utum," or square, flat-

* It must be remembered that many of the Moslem geographers derive the word "Arabia" from a tract of land in the neighbourhood of El Medinah.

† Khaybar in Hebrew is supposed to signify a castle. D'Herbelot makes it to mean a pact or association of the Jews against the Moslems.

This fort appears to have been one of the latest as well as the earliest of the Hebrew settlements in El Hejaz. Benjamin of Tudela asserts that there were 50,000 Jews resident at their old colony. Bartema in A.D. 1703 found remnants of the people there, but his account of them is disfigured by fable. In Niebuhr's time the Beni Khaybar had independent Shaykhs, and were divided into three tribes, viz.: the Beni Masad, the Beni Shahan, and the Beni Anizah (this latter, however, is a Moslem name), who were isolated and hated by the other Jews, and therefore the traveller supposes them to have been Karaites. In Burckhardt's day the race seems to have been entirely rooted out. I made many inquiries, and all assured me that there is not a single Jewish family now in Khaybar. It is indeed the popular boast in El Hejaz, that, with the exception of Jeddah (and perhaps Yambu), where the Prophet never set his foot, there is not a town in the country harbouring an infidel. This has now become a point of fanatic honour; but if history may be trusted, it has become so only lately.

roofed, stone castles for habitation and defence. They left an order to their descendants that Mohammed should be favourably received, but Allah hardened their hearts unto their own destruction. Like asses they turned their backs upon Allah's mercy*, and the consequence is, that they have been rooted out of the land. The Tarikh Tabari declares that when Bukht el Nasr†, after destroying Jerusalem, attacked and slew the king of Egypt, who had given an asylum to a remnant of the house of Israel, the persecuted fugitives made their way into El Hejaz, settled near Yathreb (El Medinah), where they founded several towns, Khaybar, Fadak, Wady el Subu, Wady el Kura, Kurayzeh, and many others. It appears, then, by the concurrence of historians, that the Jews at an early time either colonised or supplanted the Amalik at El Medinah.

At length the Israelites fell away from the worship of the one God, who raised up against

* When the Arabs see the ass turn tail to the wind and rain, they exclaim, "Lo! he turneth his back upon the mercy of Allah!"

† M. C. de Perceval quotes Judith, ii. 13. 26. and Jeremiah, xlix. 28., to prove that Holofernes, the general of Nebuchadnezzar the 1st, laid waste the land of Midian and other parts of Northern Arabia.

them the Arab tribes of Aus and Khazraj, the progenitors of the modern Ansar. Both these tribes claimed a kindred origin, and Yemen as the land of their nativity. The circumstances of their emigration are thus described. The descendants of Yarab ben Kahtan ben Shalik ben Arfakhshad ben Sam ben Nuh, kinsmen to the Amalik, inhabited in prosperity the land of Saba.* Their sway extended two months' journey from the dyke of Mareb †, near the modern capital of Yemen, as far as Syria, and incredible tales are told of their hospitality and the fertility of their land. As usual, their hearts were perverted by prosperity. They begged Allah to relieve them from the

* Saba in Southern Arabia.

† The erection of this dyke is variously attributed to Lukman the Elder (of the tribe of Ad) and to Saba ben Yashjab. It burst, according to some, beneath the weight of a flood; according to others, it was miraculously undermined by rats. A learned Indian Shaykh has mistaken the Arabic word "Jurád," a large kind of mouse or rat, for "Jarad," a locust, and he makes the wall to have sunk under a "bár i Malákh," or weight of locusts! No event is more celebrated in the history of pagan Arabia than this, or more trustworthy, despite the exaggeration of the details—the dyke is said to have been 4 miles long by 4 broad—and the fantastic marvels which are said to have accompanied its bursting. The ruins have lately been visited by M. Arnaud, a French traveller, who communicated his discovery to the French Asiatic Society in 1845.

troubles of extended empire and the duties of hospitality by diminishing their possessions. The consequence of their impious supplications was the well-known flood of Irem. The chief of the descendants of Kahtan ben Saba, one of the ruling families in Yemen, was one Amr ben Amin Ma-el-Sama*, called "El Muzaykaih" from his rending in pieces every garment once worn. His wife Tarikeh Himyariah, being skilled in divination, foresaw the fatal event and warned her husband, who, unwilling to break from his tribe without an excuse, contrived the following stratagem. He privily ordered his adopted son, an orphan, to dispute with him, and strike him in the face at a feast composed of the principal persons in the kingdom. The disgrace of such a scene afforded him a pretext for selling off his property, and, followed by his thirteen sons,—all borne to him by his wife Tarikeh,—and others of the tribe, Amr emigrated northwards. The little party, thus preserved from the Yemenian deluge, was destined by Allah to become the forefathers of the Auxiliaries of his chosen Prophet. All the children of Amr dispersed into

* Ma-el-Sama, "the water (or "the splendour") of heaven," is, generally speaking, a feminine name amongst the pagan Arabs; possibly it is here intended as a matronymic.

different parts of Arabia. His eldest son, Salabah ben Amr, chose El Hejaz, settled at El Medinah, then in the hands of the impious Beni-Israel, and became the father of the Aus and Khazraj. In course of time, the new comers were made by Allah an instrument of vengeance against the disobedient Jews. Of the latter people the two tribes Kurayzah and Nazir claimed certain feudal rights (not unknown to Europe) upon all occasions of Arab marriages. The Aus and the Khazraj, after enduring this indignity for a time, at length had recourse to one of their kinsmen, who, when the family dispersed, had settled in Syria. Abu Jubaylah, thus summoned, marched an army to El Medinah, avenged the honour of his blood, and destroyed the power of the Jews, who from that moment became Mawali, or clients to the Arabs.

For a time the tribes of Aus and Khazraj, freed from the common enemy, lived in peace and harmony. At last they fell into feuds and fought with patricidal strife, until the coming of the Prophet effected a reconciliation between them. This did not take place, however, before the Khazraj, at the battle of Boas, (about A.D. 615) received a decided defeat from the Aus.

It is also related, to prove how El Medinah was

predestined to a high fate, that nearly three centuries before the siege of the town by Abu Jubaylah, the Tobba el Asghar * marched northward, at the requisition of the Aus and Khazraj tribes, in order to punish the Jews; or according to others, at the request of the Jews to revenge them upon the Aus and Khazraj. After capturing the town, he left one of his sons to govern it, and marched on to conquer Syria and El Irak. Suddenly informed that the people of El Medinah had treacherously murdered their new prince, the exasperated Tobba returned and attacked the place, and when his horse was killed under him, he swore that he would never decamp before razing it to the ground. Whereupon two Jewish priests, Kaab and Assayd, went over to him and

* This expedition to El Medinah is mentioned by all the pre-Islamatic historians, but persons and dates are involved in the greatest confusion. Some authors mention two different expeditions by different Tobbas; others only one, attributing it differently, however, to two Tobbas,—Abu Karb in the 3rd century of the Christian era, and Tobba el Asghar, the last of that dynasty, who reigned, according to some, in A. D. 300, according to others in A. D. 448. M. C. de Perceval places the event about A. D. 206, and asserts that the Aus and Khazraj did not emigrate to El Medinah before A. D. 300.

The word Tobba or Tubba, I have been informed by some of the modern Arabs, is still used in the Himyaritic dialect of Arabic to signify "the Great" or "the Chief."

informed him that it was not in the power of man to destroy the town, it being preserved by Allah, as their books proved, for the refuge of his Prophet, the descendant of Ishmael.* The Tobba Judaised. Taking 400 of the priests with him he departed from El Medinah, performed pilgrimage to the Kaabah of Meccah, which he invested with a splendid covering †, and, after erecting a house for the expected Prophet, he returned to his capital in Yemen, where he abolished idolatry by the ordeal of fire. He treated his priestly guests with particular attention, and on his death-bed he wrote the following tetrastich: —

"I testify of Ahmed that he of a truth
Is a prophet from Allah, the maker of souls.
Be my age extended into his age,
I would be to him a Wazir and a cousin."

Then sealing the paper he committed it to the

* Nothing is more remarkable in the annals of the Arabs than their efforts to prove the Ishmaelitic descent of Mohammed; at the same time no historic question is more open to doubt.

† If this be true it proves that the Jews of El Hejaz had in those days a superstitious reverence for the Kaabah; otherwise the Tobba, after conforming to the law of Moses, would not have shown it this mark of respect. Moreover there is a legend that the same Rabbis dissuaded the Tobba from plundering the sacred place when treacherously advised so to do by the Beni Hudayl Arabs.

charge of the High Priest, with a solemn injunction to deliver the letter, should an opportunity offer, into the hands of the great Prophet ; and that if the day be distant, the missive should be handed down from generation to generation till it reached the person to whom it was addressed. The house founded by him at El Medinah was committed to a priest of whose descendants was Abu Ayyub the Ansari, the first person over whose threshold the Prophet passed when he ended the flight. Abu Ayyub had also charge of the Tobba's letter, so that it arrived at its destination at last.

El Medinah was ever inclined to Mohammed.* In the early part of his career, the emissaries of a tribe called the Beni Abd el Ashhal came from that town to Meccah, in order to make a treaty with the Kuraysh, and the Prophet seized the opportunity of preaching El Islam to them. His words were seconded by Ayyas ben Maaz, a youth of the tribe, and opposed by the chiefs of the embassy, who, however, returned home without

* It is curious that Abdullah, Mohammed's father, died and was buried at El Medinah, and that his mother Aminah's tomb is at Abwa, on the Medinah road. Here, too, his great-grandfather Hashim married Salma El Mutadalliyah, before him espoused to Uhayhah, of the Aus tribe. Shaybah, generally called Abd el Muttaleb, the Prophet's grandfather, was the son of Salma, and was bred at El Medinah.

pledging themselves to either party.* Shortly afterwards a body of the Aus and the Khazraj came to the pilgrimage of Meccah; when the Prophet began preaching to them, they recognised the person so long expected by the Jews, and swore to him an oath which is called in Moslem history the "First Fealty of the Steep."† After the six individuals who had thus pledged themselves returned to their native city, the event being duly bruited abroad caused such an effect that when the next pilgrimage season came, twelve, or according to others forty persons, led by Asad bin Zararah, accompanied the original converts, and in the same place swore the "Second Fealty of the Steep." The Prophet dismissed them in company with one Musab ben Umayr, a Meccan, charged to teach them the Koran and their religious duties, which in those days consisted only of prayer and the profession of unity. They arrived at El Medinah on a Friday, and this was the first day on which the city witnessed the public devotions of the Moslems. After some persecutions

* Ayyas ibn Maaz died, it is said, a Moslem.

† "Bayat el Akabat el-ula." It is so called because this oath was sworn at a place called El 'Akabah (the Mountain road), near Muna. A mosque was afterwards built there to commemorate the event.

Musab had the fortune to convert a chief of the Aus, and who was also a cousin of Asad ben Zararah, one Saad ibn Maaz, whose opposition had been of the fiercest. He persuaded his tribe, the Beni Abd el Ashhal, to break their idols and openly to profess El Islam. The next season Musab having made many converts, some say seventy, others three hundred, marched from El Medinah to Meccah for the pilgrimage, and there induced his followers to meet the Prophet at midnight upon the steep near Muna. Mohammed preached to them their duties towards Allah and himself, especially insisting upon the necessity of warring down infidelity. They pleaded ancient treaties with the Jews of El Medinah, and showed apprehension lest the Prophet, after bringing them into disgrace with their fellows, should desert them and return to the faith of his kinsmen the Kuraysh. Mohammed smiling comforted them with the assurance that he was with them, body and soul, for ever. Upon this they asked him what would be their reward if slain. The Prophet replied "gardens 'neath which the streams flow"—that is to say, Paradise. Then, in spite of the advice of El Abbas, Mohammed's uncle, who was loud in his denunciations, they bade the

preacher stretch out his hand, and upon it swore the oath known as the "Great Fealty of the Steep." After comforting them with an Ayat, or Koranic verse, which promised heaven to them, Mohammed divided his followers into twelve parties, and placing a chief at the head of each*, dismissed them to their homes. He rejected the offer made by one of the party—namely, to slay all the idolaters present at the pilgrimage—saying that Allah had favoured him with no such order. For the same reason he refused their invitation to visit El Medinah, which was the principal object of their mission, and he then took an affectionate leave of them.

Two months and a half after the events above detailed, Mohammed received the inspired tidings that El Medinah of the Hejaz was his predestined asylum. In anticipation of the order, for as yet the time had not been revealed, he sent forward his friends, among whom were Omar, Talhah, and Hamzah, retaining with him Abubekr † and Ali.

* Some Moslem writers suppose that Mohammed singled out twelve men as apostles, and called them Nakil, in imitation of the example of our Saviour. Other Moslems ignore both the fact and the intention. M. C. De Perceval gives the names of these Nakils in vol. iii. p. 8.

† Orthodox Moslems do not fail to quote this circumstance

The particulars of the Flight, that eventful accident to El Islam, are too well known to require mention here, besides which they belong rather to the category of general than of Medinite history.

Mohammed was escorted into El Medinah by one Buraydat El Aslami and eighty men of the same tribe, who had been offered by the Kuraysh 100 camels for the capture of the fugitives. But Buraydat, after listening to their terms, accidentally entered into conversation with Mohammed, and no sooner did he hear the name of his interlocutor, than he professed the faith of El Islam. He then prepared for the Prophet a standard by attaching his turban to a spear, and anxiously inquired what house was to be honoured by the presence of Allah's chosen servant. "Whichever,"

in honour of the first Caliph, upon whom moreover they bestow the title of "Friend of the Cave." The Shiahs, on the other hand, hating Abubekr, see in it a symptom of treachery, and declare that the Prophet feared to let the "Old Hyena," as they opprobriously term the venerable successor, out of his sight for fear lest he should act as spy to the Kuraysh.

The voice of history and of common sense is against the Shiahs. M. C. de Perceval justly remarks, that Abubekr and Omar were men truly worthy of their great predecessor.

replied Mohammed, "this she-camel* is ordered to show me." At the last halting-place, he accidentally met some of his disciples returning from a trading voyage to Syria; they dressed him and his companion Abubekr, in white clothing, which it is said caused the people of Kuba to pay a mistaken reverence to the latter. The Moslems of El Medinah were in the habit of repairing every morning to the heights near the city, looking out for the Prophet, and when the sun waxed hot they returned home. One day, about noon, a Jew, who discovered the return from afar, suddenly warned the nearest party of Ansar, or Auxiliaries of El Medinah, that the fugitive was come. They snatched up their arms and hurried from their houses to meet him. Mohammed's she-camel advanced to the centre of the then flourishing town

* This animal's name, according to some was El Kaswa ("the tips of whose ears are cropped"); according to others El Jadaa ("one mutilated in the ear, hand, nose, or lip"). The Prophet bought her for 800 dirhams, on the day before his flight, from Abubekr, who had fattened two fine animals of his own breeding. The camel was offered as a gift, but Mohammed insisted upon paying its price, because, say the Moslem casuists, he being engaged in the work of God would receive no aid from man. According to M. C. de Perceval, the Prophet preached from the back of El Kaswa the pilgrimage sermon at Arafat on the 8th March, A. D. 632.

of Kuba. There she suddenly knelt upon a place that is now consecrated ground, and was at that time an open space belonging, it is said, to Ayyub the Ansari, who had a house here near the abodes of the Beni Amr ben Auf. This event happened on the first day of the week, the twelfth of the month Rabia el Awwal *, in the first year of the Flight: for which reason Monday, which also witnessed the birth, the mission, and the death of the Prophet, is an auspicious day to El Islam.

After halting two days in the house of Kulsum ben Hadmah at Kuba, and there laying the foundation of the first mosque, the Prophet was joined by Ali, who had remained at Meccah, for the purpose of returning certain trusts and deposits committed to Mohammed's charge. He waited three days longer: on Friday morning, (the 16th Rabia El Awwal, A. H. 1—2nd July, A. D. 622), about

* The Prophet is generally supposed to have started from Meccah on the 1st of the same month, on a Friday or a Monday. This discrepancy is supposed to arise from the fact that Mohammed fled his house in Meccah on a Friday, passed three days in the cave on Jebel Saur, and finally left it for El Medinah on Monday, which therefore, according to Moslem divines, was the first day of the "Hejrah." But the æra now commences on the 1st of the previous Muharram, an arrangement made seventeen years after the date of the flight by Omar the Caliph, with the concurrence of Ali.

sun-rise, he mounted his she-camel, and, accompanied by a throng of armed Ansar on foot and on horseback, he took the way to the city. At the hour of public prayer *, he halted in the wady or valley near Kuba, upon the spot where the Masjid el Jumah now stands, performed his devotions, and preached an eloquent sermon. He then remounted. Numbers pressed forward to offer him hospitality; he blessed them, and bade them stand out of the way, declaring that El Kaswa would kneel of her own accord at the predestined spot. He then advanced to where the Prophet's pulpit now stands. There the she-camel knelt, and the rider exclaimed, as one inspired, "This is our place, if Almighty Allah please!" Then descending from El Kaswa, he recited, "O Lord, cause me to alight a good alighting, and thou art the best of those who cause to alight!" Presently the camel rose unaided, advanced a few steps, and then, according to some, returning, sat down upon

* The distance from Kuba to El Medinah is little more than three miles, for which six hours—Friday prayers being about noon—may be considered an inordinately long time. But our author might urge as a reason that the multitude of people upon a narrow road rendered the Prophet's advance a slow one, and some historians relate that he spent several hours in conversation with the Beni Salim.

her former seat; according to others, she knelt at the door of Abu Ayyub el Ansari, whose abode in those days was the nearest to the halting-place. The descendant of the Jewish High Priest in the time of the Tobbas, with the Prophet's permission, took the baggage off the camel, and carried it into his house. Then ensued great rejoicings. The Abyssinians came and played with their spears. The maidens of the Beni Najjár tribe sang and beat their kettle-drums. And all the wives of the Ansar celebrated with shrill cries of joy the auspicious event; whilst the males, young and old, freemen and slaves, shouted with effusion, "Allah's Messenger is come! Allah's Messenger is here!"

Mohammed caused Abu Ayyub and his wife to remove into the upper story, contenting himself with the humbler lower rooms. This was done for the greater convenience of receiving visitors without troubling the family; but the master of the house was thereby rendered uncomfortable in mind. His various remarks about the Prophet's diet and domestic habits, especially his avoiding leeks, onions, and garlic *, are gravely chronicled by Moslem authors.

* Mohammed never would eat these strong smelling vegetables on account of his converse with the angels, even as modern

After spending seven months, more or less, at the house of Abu Ayyub, Mohammed, now surrounded by his wives and family, built close by the mosque huts for their reception. The ground was sold to him by Sahal and Suhayl, two orphans of the Beni Najjár *, a noble family of the Khazraj. Some time afterwards one Harisat ben el Numan presented to the Prophet all his houses in the vicinity of the mosque. In those days the habitations of the Arabs were made of a framework of *Jerid* or palm sticks, covered over with a cloth of camel's hair, a curtain of similar stuff forming the door. The more splendid had walls of unbaked brick, and leaf roofs plastered over with mud or clay. Of this description were the abodes of Mohammed's family. Most of them were built on the N. and E. of the mosque, which had open ground on the western side; and the doors looked towards the place of prayer. In course of time, all, except

"Spiritualists" refuse to smoke tobacco; at the same time he allowed his followers to do so, except when appearing in his presence, entering a mosque, or joining in public prayers. The pious Moslem still eats his onions with these limitations. Some sects, however, as the Wahhabis, considering them abominable, avoid them on all occasions.

* The name of the tribe literally means "sons of a carpenter;" hence the error of the learned and violent Humphrey Prideaux, corrected by Sale.

Abubekr* and Ali, were ordered to close their doors, and even Omar was refused the favour of having a window opening into the mosque.

Presently the Jews of El Medinah, offended by the conduct of Abdullah ben Salam, their most learned priest and a descendant from Joseph, who had become a convert to the Moslem dispensation, began to plot against Mohammed.† They were headed by Hajj ben Akhtah, and his brother Yasir ben Akhtah, and were joined by many of the Aus and the Khazraj. The events that followed this combination of the Munafikun, or Hypocrites, under their chief, Abdullah, belong to the domain of Arabian history.‡

* Some say that Abubekr had no abode near the mosque. But it is generally agreed upon, that he had many houses, one in El Bakia, another in the higher parts of El Medinah, and among them a hut on the spot between the present gates called Salam and Rahmah.

† It is clear from the fact above stated, that in those days the Jews of Arabia were in a state of excitement, hourly expecting the advent of their Messiah, and that Mohammed believed himself to be the person appointed to complete the law of Moses.

‡ In many minor details the above differs from the received accounts of Pre-islamitic and early Mohammedan history. Let the blame be borne by the learned Shaykh Abd el Hakk ol Muhaddis of Delhi, and his compilation, the "Jazb el Kulúb ila

Mohammed spent the last ten years of his life at El Medinah. He died on Monday, some say at nine A.M., others at noon, the twelfth of Rabia el Awwal in the eleventh year of the Hejrah. When his family and companions debated where he should be buried Ali advised El Medinah, and Abubekr, Ayisha's chamber, quoting a saying of the deceased that prophets and martyrs are always interred where they happen to die. The Prophet was buried, it is said, under the bed where he had given up the ghost by Ali and the two sons of Abbas, who dug the grave. With the life of Mohammed the interest of El Medinah ceases, or rather is concentrated in the history of its temple. Since then the city has passed through the hands of the Caliphs, the Sherifs of Meccah, the Sultans of Constantinople, the Wahhabis, and the Egyptians. It has now reverted to the Sultan, whose government is beginning to believe that in these days, when religious prestige is of little value, the great Khan's title, "Servant of the Holy Shrines," is purchased at too high a price. As has before

Diyar el Mahbúb: (the "Drawing of Hearts towards the Holy Parts"). From the multitude of versions at last comes correctness.

been observed, the Turks now struggle for existence in El Hejaz with a soldiery ever in arrears, and officers unequal to the task of managing an unruly people. The pensions are but partly paid*, and they are not likely to increase with years. It is probably a mere consideration of interest that prevents the people rising *en masse*, and reasserting the liberties of their country. And I have heard from authentic sources that

* A firman from the Porte, dated 13th February, 1841, provides for the paying of these pensions regularly. "It being customary to send every year from Egypt provisions in kind to the two holy cities, the provisions and other articles, whatever they may be, which have up to this time been sent to this place, shall continue to be sent thither." Formerly the Holy Land had immense property in Egypt, and indeed in all parts of El Islam. About thirty years ago, Mohammed Ali Pacha bought up all the Wakf (church property), agreeing to pay for its produce, which he rated at five piasters the ardebb, when it was worth three times as much. Even that was not regularly paid. The Sultan has taken advantage of the present crisis to put down Wakf in Turkey. The Holy Land therefore will gradually lose all its land and house property, and will soon be compelled to depend entirely upon the presents of the pilgrims, and the Sadakah, or alms, which are still sent to it by the pious Moslems of distant regions. As might be supposed, both the Meccans and the Madani loudly bewail their hard fates, and by no means approve of the Ikram, the modern succedaneum for an extensive and regularly paid revenues. At a future time, I shall recur to this subject.

the Wahhabis look forward to the day when a fresh crusade will enable them to purge the land of its abominations in the shape of silver and gold.

The Masjid el Nabi, or Prophet's mosque, is the second in El Islam in point of seniority, and the same, or according to others the first in dignity, ranking with the Kaabah itself. It is erected around the spot where the she-camel, El Kaswa, knelt down by the order of Heaven. At that time the land was a palm grove and a Mirbad, or place where dates are dried. Mohammed, ordered to erect a place of worship there, sent for the youths to whom it belonged and certain Ansar, or Auxiliaries, their guardians: the ground was offered to him in free gift, but he insisted upon purchasing it, paying more than its value. Having caused the soil to be levelled and the trees to be felled, he laid the foundation of the first mosque. In those times of primitive simplicity its walls were made of rough stone and unbaked bricks, and trunks of date-trees supported a palm-stick roof, concerning which the Archangel Gábriel delivered an order that it should not be higher than seven cubits, the elevation of Moses's temple. All ornament was strictly forbidden. The Ansar, or men of El Medinah, and the Muhájirin, or Fugitives, from

Meccah carried the building materials in their arms from the cemetery El Bakia, near the well of Ayyub, north of the spot where Ibrahim's mosque now stands, and the Prophet was to be seen aiding them in their labours, and reciting for their encouragement,

> "O Allah! there is no good but the good of futurity,
> Then have mercy upon my Ansar and Muhajerin!"

The length of this mosque was fifty-four cubits from north to south and sixty-three in breadth, and it was hemmed in by houses on all sides save the western. Till the seventeenth month of the new æra the congregation faced towards the northern wall of the mosque. After that time a fresh revelation turned them in the direction of Meccah—southwards: on which occasion the Archangel Gabriel descended and miraculously opened through the hills and wilds a view of the Kaabah, that there might be no difficulty in ascertaining its true position.

After the capture of Khaybar in A. H. 7, the Prophet and his three first successors restored the mosque, but Moslem historians do not consider this a second foundation. Mohammed laid the first brick, and Abu Hurayrah declares that he

saw him carry heaps of building material piled up to his breast. The Caliphs, each in the turn of his succession, placed a brick close to that laid by the Prophet, and aided him in raising the walls. El Tabrani relates that one of the Ansar had a house adjacent which Mohammed wished to make part of the place of prayer; the proprietor was offered in exchange for it a home in Paradise, which he gently rejected, pleading poverty. His excuse was admitted, and Osman, after purchasing the place for 10,000 dirhams, gave it to the Prophet on the long credit originally offered. This mosque was a square of 100 cubits. Like the former building it had three doors: one on the south side, where the Mihrab el Nabawi, or the "Prophet's niche," now is; another in the place of the present Bab el Rahmah, and the third at the Bab Osman, now called the Gate of Gabriel. Instead of a Mihrab or prayer-niche* a large block of stone directed

* The prayer-niche and the minaret both date their existence from the days of El Walid, the builder of the third mosque. At this age of their empire, the Moslems had travelled far and had seen art in various lands; it is therefore not without a shadow of reason that the Hindoos charge them with having borrowed their two favourite symbols, and transformed them into an arch and a tower.

the congregation; at first it was placed against the northern wall of the mosque, and it was removed to the southern when Meccah became the Kiblah. In the beginning the Prophet, whilst preaching the Khutbah or Friday sermon, leaned when fatigued against a post.* The Mambar †, or pulpit, was the invention of a Medinah man of the Beni Najjar. It was a wooden frame, two cubits long by one broad, with three steps each one span high: on the topmost of these the Prophet sat when he required rest. The pulpit assumed its present form about A.H. 90, during the artistic reign of El Walid.

* The Ustawanat el Hannanah, or "weeping-post." See Chapter XVI.

† As usual, there are doubts about the invention of this article. It was covered with cloth by the Caliph Osman (Othman), or, as others say, by El Muáwiyah, who, deterred by a solar eclipse from carrying out his project of removing it to Damascus, placed it upon a new framework, elevated six steps above the ground. El Mahdi wished to raise the Mambar six steps higher, but was forbidden so to do by the Imam Malik. The Abbasides changed the pulpit, and converted the Prophet's original seat into combs, which were preserved as relics. Some historians declare that the original Mambar was burnt with the mosque in A. H. 654. In Ibn Jubair's time (A. H. 580), it was customary for visitors to place their right hands upon a bit of old wood, inserted into one of the pillars of the pulpit; this was supposed to be a remnant of the "weeping post."

In this mosque Mohammed spent the greater part of the day * with his companions, conversing, instructing, and comforting the poor. Hard by were the abodes of his wives, his family, and his principal friends. Here he prayed, hearkening to the Azan, or devotion-call, from the roof. Here he received worldly envoys and embassies, and the heavenly messages conveyed by the Archangel Gabriel. And within a few yards of the hallowed spot, he died, and found, as is supposed, a grave.

The theatre of events so important to El Islam

Every Sultan added some ornament to the Mambar, and at one time it was made of white marble, covered over with a dome of the "eight metals." It is now a handsome structure, apparently of wood, painted and gilt of the usual elegant form, which has been compared by some travellers with the *suggesta* of Roman Catholic churches.

I have been explicit about this pulpit, hoping that next time the knotty question of Apostolic seats comes upon the *tapis*, our popular authors will not confound a Curule chair with a Moslem Mambar. Of the latter article, Lane (Mod. Egyptians, chap. 3.) gave a sketch in the "Interior of a Mosque."

* The Prophet is said to have had a dwelling-house in the Ambariyah, or the western quarter of the Munakhah suburb, and here, according to some, he lodged Mariyah, the Coptic girl. As pilgrims do not usually visit the place, and nothing of the original building can be now remaining, I did not trouble myself about it.

could not be allowed — especially as no divine decree forbade the change — to remain in its pristine lowliness. The first Caliph contented himself with merely restoring some of the palm pillars, which had fallen to the ground: Omar, the second successor, surrounded the Hujrah, or Ayisha's chamber, in which the Prophet was buried, with a mud wall; and in A. H. 17, he enlarged the mosque to 140 cubits by 120, taking in ground on all sides except the eastern, where stood the abodes of the "Mothers of the Moslems."* Outside the northern wall he erected a Suffah (called El Batha), a raised bench of wood, earth, or stone, upon which the people might recreate themselves with conversation and quoting poetry, for the mosque was now becoming a place of peculiar reverence to men.†

The second Masjid was erected A. H. 29, by the

* Meaning the Prophet's fifteen wives. It was this title after the Koranic order (chap. 33. v. 53.) which rendered their widowhood eternal; no Arab would willingly marry a woman whom he has called mother or sister.

† Authors mention a place outside the northern wall called El Suffah, which was assigned by Mohammed as a habitation to houseless believers; from which circumstance these paupers derived the title of As-hab El Suffah, "Companions of the Sofa."

third Caliph, Osman, who regardless of the clamours of the people, overthrew the old one and extended the building greatly towards the north, and a little towards the west; but he did not remove the eastern limit on account of the private houses. He made the roof of Indian teak *, and erected walls of hewn and carved stone. These innovations caused some excitement, which he allayed by quoting a tradition of the Prophet, with one of which he appears perpetually to have been prepared. The saying in question was, according to some, "Were this my mosque extended to Safa †, it verily would still be my mosque;" according to others, "Were the Prophet's mosque extended to Zu'l Halifah ‡, it would still be his." But Osman's skill in the quotation of tradition did not prevent the new building being in part a cause of his death. It was finished on the 1st Moharram, A.H. 30.

At length, El Islam, grown splendid and powerful, determined to surpass other nations in the magnificence of its public buildings.§ In A.H. 88, El

* So I translate the Arabicised word "Sáj."

† A hill in Meccah.

‡ A place about five miles from El Medinah, on the Meccan way. See Chap. XIV.

§ And curious to say El Islam still has the largest cathedral

Walid* the First, twelfth Caliph of the Beni Ummayah race, after building the noble "Jami el Ammawiyah" (cathedral of the Ommiades) at Damascus, determined to display his liberality at El Medinah. The governor of the place, Omar ben Abd-el-Azíz, was directed to buy for 7000 *dinárs* all the hovels of raw brick that hedged in the eastern side of the old mosque. They were inhabited by descendants of the Prophet and of the early Caliphs, and in more than one case, the ejection of the holy tenantry was effected with considerable difficulty. Some of the women, ever the most obstinate on such occasions, refused to take money, and Omar was forced to the objection-

in the world—St. Sophia's at Constantinople. Next to this ranks St. Peter's at Rome; thirdly, I believe, the "Jumma Masjid," or cathedral of the old Moslem city Bijapoor in India; the fourth is St. Paul's, London.

* It is to this monarch that the Saracenic mosque-architecture mainly owes its present form. As will be seen, he had every advantage of borrowing from Christian, Persian, and even Indian art. From the first he took the dome, from the second the cloister—it might have been naturalised in Arabia before his time—and possibly from the third the minaret and the prayer-niche. The latter appears to be a peculiarly Hindu feature in sacred buildings, intended to contain the idol, and to support the lamps, flowers, and other offerings placed before it.

able measure of turning them out of doors with exposed faces * in full day. The Greek Emperor, applied to by the magnificent Caliph, sent immense presents, silver lamp chains, valuable curiosities †, forty loads of small cut stones for pietra-dura, and a sum of 80,000 dinars, or as others say, 40,000 miskals of gold. He also forwarded forty Coptic and forty Greek artists to carve the marble pillars and the casings of the walls, and to superintend the gilding and the mosaic work. One of these Christians was beheaded for sculpturing a hog on the Kiblah wall, and another, in an attempt to defile the roof, fell to the ground, and his brains were dashed out. The remainder apostatised, but this did not prevent the older Arabs murmuring that their mosque had been turned into a Kanísat.‡

* The reader will remember that in the sixth year of the Hijrah, after Mohammed's marriage with Zaynab, his wives were secluded behind the Hijáb, Pardeh, or curtain. A verse of the Koran directed the Moslems to converse with them behind this veil. Hence the general practice of El Islam: now it is considered highly disgraceful in any Moslem to make a Moslemah expose her face, and she will frequently found a threat upon the prejudice. A battle has been prevented by this means, and occasionally an insurrection has been caused by it.

† Amongst which some authors enumerate the goblet and the mirror of Kisra.

‡ A Christian church.

The Hujrah, or chamber, where, by Mohammed's permission, Azrael, the Angel of Death, separated his soul from his body, whilst his head was lying in the lap of Ayisha, his favourite wife, was now for the first time taken into the mosque. The raw brick *enceinte* * which surrounded the three graves was exchanged for one of carved stone, enclosed by an outer precinct with a narrow passage between.† These double walls were either without a door, or had only a small blocked-up wicket on the northern side, and from that day (A. H. 90), no one, says El Samanhudi, has been able to approach the sepulchre.‡ A minaret was erected at each corner

* The outer wall, built by El Walid, remained till A. H. 550, when Jemal el Din of Isfahan, Wazír to Nur el Din Shahid Mahmud ben Zangi, supplied its place by a grating of open sandal woodwork, or, as others say, of iron. About the same time, Sayyid Abu 'l Haija sent from Egypt a sheet of white brocade, embroidered in red silk with the chapter Y S, in order to cover the inner wall. This was mounted on the accession of El Mustazi Billah, the Caliph, after which it became the custom for every Sultan to renew the offering. And in A. H. 688, Kalaón of Egypt built the outer network of brass as it now is, and surmounted it with the Green Dome.

† The inner wall, erected by El Walid, seems to have resisted the fire which in A. H. 654 burnt the mosque to the ground. Also, in A. H. 886, when the building was consumed by lightning, the Hujrah was spared by the devouring element.

‡ After the Prophet's death and burial, Ayisha continued

of the mosque.* The building was enlarged to 200 cubits by 167, and was finished in A.H. 91. When El Walid, the Caliph, visited it in state, he inquired of his lieutenant why greater magnificence had not been displayed in the erection; upon which Omar informed him, to his astonishment, that the walls alone had cost 45,000 dinars.†

The fourth mosque was erected in A.H. 191, by El Mehdi, third prince of the Beni Abbas or Baghdad Caliphs — celebrated in history only for spending enormous sums upon a pilgrimage. He enlarged the building by adding ten handsome pillars of carved marble, with gilt capitals on the northern side. In A.H. 202, El Maamun made further additions to this mosque. It was from El Mehdi's Masjid that El Hakim b'amr Illah, the third Fatimite Caliph of Egypt, and the deity of the

to occupy the same room, without even a curtain between her and the tomb. At last, vexed by the crowds of visitors, she partitioned off the hallowed spot with a wall. She visited the grave unveiled as long as her father Abubekr only was placed behind the Prophet; but when Omar's corpse was added, she always covered her face.

* One of these, the minaret at the Bab-el-Salam, was soon afterwards overthrown by El Walid's brother Sulayman, because it shaded the house of Merwan, where he lodged during his visit to El Medinah in the cold season.

† The dinar (denarius) was a gold piece, a ducat, a sequin.

Druse sect, determined to steal the bodies of the Prophet and his two companions. About A. H. 412, he sent emissaries to El Medinah: the attempt, however, failed, and the would-be violators of the tomb lost their lives. It is generally supposed that El Hakim's object was to transfer the Visitation to his own capital; but in one so manifestly insane it is difficult to discover the spring of action. Two Christians habited like Maghrabi pilgrims, in A. H. 550, dug a mine from a neighbouring house into the temple. They were discovered, beheaded, and burned to ashes. In relating these events the Moslem historians mix up many foolish preternaturalisms with credible matter. At last, to prevent a recurrence of such sacrilegious attempts, El Malik El Adil Nur El Din of the Baharite Mamluk Sultans, or, according to others, Sultan Nur El Din Shahid Mahmud ben Zangi, who, warned by a vision of the Prophet, had started for El Medinah only in time to discover the two Christians, surrounded the holy place with a deep trench filled with molten lead. By this means Abubekr and Omar, who had run considerable risks of their own, have ever since been enabled to occupy their last homes undisturbed.

In A.H. 654, the fifth mosque was erected in consequence of a fire, which some authors attribute to a volcano that broke out close to the town in terrible eruption*; others, with more fanaticism and less probability, to the schismatic Beni Hosayn, then the guardians of the tomb. On this occasion the Hujrah was saved, together with the old and venerable copies of the Koran there deposited, especially the Cufic MSS., written by Osman, the fourth Caliph. The piety of three sovereigns, El Mustasim, (last caliph of Baghdad,) El Muzaffar Shems el Din Yusuf, chief of Yemen, and El Zahir Beybars, Baharite Sultan of Egypt, completed the work in A.H. 688. This building was enlarged and beautified by the princes of Egypt, and lasted upwards of 200 years.

The sixth mosque was built, almost as it now stands, by Kaid Bey, nineteenth Sultan of the Circassian Mamluk kings of Egypt, in A.H. 888. El Mustasim's mosque had been struck by lightning during a storm; thirteen men were killed at prayers, and the destroying element spared nothing but the interior of the Hujrah.† The railing and dome

* I purpose to touch upon this event in a future chapter, when describing my route from El Medinah to Meccah.

† "On this occasion," says El Samanhudi, quoted by Burck-

were restored; niches and a pulpit were sent from Cairo, and the gates and minarets were distributed as they are now. Not content with this, Kaid Bey established "wakf" (bequests) and pensions, and introduced order among the attendants on the tomb. In the tenth century, Sultan Sulayman the Magnificent paved with fine white marble the Rauzah or garden, which Kaid Bey, not daring to alter, had left of earth, and erected the fine minaret that bears his name. During the dominion of the later Sultans, and of Mohammed Ali, a few trifling presents, of lamps, carpets, wax candles and chandeliers, and a few immaterial alterations, have been made. The present head of El Islam is, as I have before said, rebuilding one of the minarets and the northern colonnade of the mosque. But the work goes on slowly, and is not likely to be soon finished for want of funds.

Such is the history of the mosque's prosperity.

During the siege of El Medinah by the Wah-

hardt, "the interior of the Hujrah was cleared, and three deep graves were found in the inside, full of rubbish, but the author of this history, who himself entered it, saw no traces of tombs." Yet in another place he, an eye-witness, had declared that the coffin containing the dust of Mohammed was cased with silver.

habis *, the principal people seized and divided amongst themselves the treasures of the tomb, which must have been considerable. When the town surrendered, Saud, accompanied by his principal officers, entered the Hujrah, but, terrified by dreams, he did not penetrate behind the curtain or attempt to see the tomb. He plundered, however, the treasures in the passage, the "Kaukab el Durri †," and the ornaments sent as presents from every part of El Islam. Part of these he sold to Ghalib, Sherif of Meccah, it is said for 150,000 Riyals; the rest he carried with him to Deraiyah, his capital.‡ An accident prevented any further desecration of the building. The greedy Wahha-

* Burckhardt has given a full account of this event in his history of the Wahhabis.

† See Chapter XVI.

‡ My predecessor estimates the whole treasury in those days to have been worth 300,000 Riyals, — a small sum, if we consider the length of time during which it was accumulating. The chiefs of the town appropriated 1 cwt. of golden vessels, worth at most 50,000 dollars, and Saud sold part of the plunder to Ghalib for 100,000, (I was told about one-third more), reserving for himself about the same amount of pearls and corals. Burckhardt supposes that the governors of El Medinah, who were often independent chiefs, and sometimes guardians of the tombs, made occasional draughts upon the generosity of the Faithful.

bis, allured by the appearance of the golden or gilt globes and crescents surmounting the green dome, attempted to throw down the latter. Two of their number, it is said, were killed by falling from the slippery roof*, and the rest, struck by superstitious fears, abandoned the work of destruction. They injured, however, the prosperity of the place by taxing the inhabitants, by interrupting the annual remittances, and by forbidding visitors to approach it. They are spoken of with abhorrence by the people, who quote a peculiarly bad trait in their characters, namely, that in return for any small religious assistance of prayer or recitation, they were in the habit of giving a few grains of gunpowder, or something equally valuable, instead of hard dollars.†

When Abdullah, son of Saud, had concluded in A. D. 1815 a treaty of peace with Tussun Pacha, the Egyptian General, the latter bought back from the townspeople, for 10,000 Riyals, all the golden vessels that had not been melted down,

* I inquired in vain about the substance that covered the dome. Some told me it was tinfoil; others supposed it to be revetted with green tiles.

† The Bedouin calls a sound dollar "Kirsh Hajar," or Riyal Hajar, a "stone dollar."

and restored the treasure to its original place. This I have heard denied; at the same time it rests upon credible evidence. Amongst orientals the events of the last generation are usually speaking imperfectly remembered, and many Olema are well acquainted with the history of vicissitudes which took place 1200 years ago, when profoundly ignorant of what their grandfathers witnessed. Many incredible tales also I heard concerning the present wealth of the El Medinah mosque: this must be expected when the exaggeration is considered likely to confer honour upon the exaggerator.

The establishment attached to the El Medinah mosque is greatly altered since Burckhardt's time*, the result of the increasing influence of the Turkish half-breeds. It is still extensive, because in the first place the principle of divided labour is a favourite one amongst orientals, and secondly because the sons of the holy cities do naturally desire to extract as much as they can from the sons of other places with the least amount of work. The substance of the following

* At the same time his account is still carefully copied by our popular and general authors, who it is presumed could easily become better informed.

account was given to me by Omar Effendi, and I compared it with the information of others upon whom I could rely.

The principal of the mosque, or Shaykh el Haram, is no longer a eunuch.* The present is a Turkish Pacha, Osman, appointed from Constantinople with a salary of about 30,000 piasters a month. His Naib or deputy is a black eunuch, the chief of the Aghawat†, upon a pay

* The Persians in remote times, as we learn from Herodotus, (lib. 6.), were waited upon by eunuchs, and some attribute to them the invention. Ammianus Marcellinus (lib. 14.) ascribes the origin to Semiramis. In El Islam, the employment of such persons about the mosque is a "Bidaat" or custom unknown in the time of the Prophet. It is said to have arisen from the following three considerations: 1. These people are concentrated in their professions: 2. They must see and touch strange women at the shrines, and 3. The shrines are "Haram," or sacred, having adyta which are kept secret from the prying eyes of men, and, therefore, should be served by eunuchs. It is strange that the Roman Catholic church, as well as the Moslem mosque, should have admitted such an abomination.

† One of these gentry, if called "Tawáshi,"—his generic name,—would certainly insult a stranger. The polite form of address to one of them is "Agha"—Master—in the plural, "Aghawat." *In partibus*, they exact the greatest respect from men, and the title of Eunuch of the Tomb is worth a considerable sum to them. The eunuchs of El Medinah are more numerous and better paid than those of Meccah: they are

of 5,000 piasters. The present principal of this college is one Tayfur Agha, a slave of Esmah Sultanah, sister to the late Sultan Mahmud. The chief treasurer is called the Mudír el Haram; he keeps an eye upon the Khaznadar or treasurer, a eunuch whose salary is 2,000 piasters. The Mustaslim is the chief of the Katibs, or writers, who keep the accounts of the mosque; his pay is 1500, and under him is a Nakib or assistant upon 1000 piasters. There are three Shaykhs of the eunuchs, who receive from 700 to 1000 piasters a month each. The eunuchs, about 120 in number, are divided into three orders. The Bawwabin, or porters, open the doors of the mosque. The Khubziyah sweep the purer parts of the temple, and the lowest order, popularly called "Battalin," clean away all impurities, beat those found sleeping about the temple, and act as beadles, a duty here which involves considerable use of the cane. These men receive as perquisites presents from each visitor when they offer him the usual congratulation, and for other small favours, such as permitting strangers to light

generally the slaves of rich men at Constantinople, and prefer this city on account of its climate.

the lamps*, or to sweep the floor. Their pay varies from 250 to 500 piasters a month: they are looked upon as honourable men, and are generally speaking married, some of them indulging in three or four wives, which would have aroused Juvenal's bile. The Agha's character is curious and exceptional as his outward conformation. Disconnected with humanity, he is cruel, fierce, brave, and capable of any villany. His frame is unnaturally long and lean, especially the arms and legs, with high shoulders, protruding joints, and a face by contrast extraordinarily large; he is unusually expert in the use of weapons, and rides to admiration, his hoarse thick voice investing him with all the circumstance of command.

Besides the eunuchs there are a number of free servants, called Farrashin, attached to the mosque; almost all the middle and lower class of citizens belong to the order. They are divided into parties of thirty each, and are changed every week, those on duty receiving a Ghazi, or twenty-two piasters, for their services. Their

* The "Sons of the City," however, are always allowed to do such service gratis; if, indeed, they are not paid for it.

business is to dust, and spread the carpets, they put oil and wicks into the lamps which the eunuchs let down from the ceiling, and, generally speaking, do nothing.

Finally the menial establishment of the mosque consists of a Shaykh el Sakka (chief of the water carriers), under whom are from forty-five to fifty men who sprinkle the floors, water the garden, and, for a consideration, supply a cupful of brackish liquid to visitors.

The literary establishment is even more extensive than the executive and the menial. There is a Kazi, (Cadi,) or chief judge sent every year from Constantinople. After twelve months at El Medinah he passes on to Meccah, and returns home after a similar term of service in the second Holy city. Under him are three muftis *, of the Hanafi, the Shafei, and the Maliki schools; —the fourth, or Hanbali, is not represented here or at Cairo †; — each of these officers receives as pay

* Others told me that there were only two muftis at El Medinah, namely, those of the Hanafi and Shafei schools. If this be true, it proves the insignificance of the followers of Malik, which personage, like others, is less known in his own town than elsewhere.

† The Hanbali school is nowhere common except in Nejd, and the lands eastward as far as El Hasa. At present it

about 250 piasters a month. The Ruasa*, as the muezzins here call themselves, are extensively represented; there are forty-eight or forty-nine of the lowest order, presided over by six Kubar or great men, and these again are under the Shaykh el Ruasa, who alone has the privilege of calling to prayers from the Raisiyah minaret. The Shaykh receives 150 piasters, the chiefs about 100, and the common criers sixty; there are forty-five Khatibs, who preach and pray before the congregation on Fridays for 120 piasters a month; they are under the Shaykh el Khutaba. About the same sum is given to seventy-five Imams, who recite the five, ordinary prayers of every day in the mosque; the Shaykh el Aimmat is their superior.†

Almost all the citizens of El Medinah who have not some official charge about the mosque qualify

labours under a sort of imputation, being supposed to have thrown out a bad offshoot, the Wahhabis.

* "Ruasa" is the plural of Rais, a chief or president. It is the term generally applied in Arabia to the captain of a vessel, and in El Yemen it often means a barber,—in virtue, I presume, of its root—Ras, the head.

† Some say that the Egyptian distinction between the Imam Khatib and the Imam Ratib does not obtain at El Medinah.

themselves to act as Muzawwirs. They begin as boys to learn the formula of prayer, and the conducting of visitors, and partly by begging, partly by boldness, they often pick up a tolerable livelihood at an early age. The Muzawwir will often receive strangers into his house, as was done to me, and direct their devotions during the whole time of their stay. For this he requires a sum of money proportioned to his guests' circumstances, but this fee does not end the connection. If the Muzawwir visit the home of his Zair, he expects to be treated with the utmost hospitality, and to depart with a handsome present. A religious visitor will often transmit to his cicerone at Meccah and at El Medinah yearly sums to purchase for himself a mass at the Kaabah and the Prophet's Tomb. The remittance is usually wrapped up in paper, and placed in a sealed leathern bag, somewhat like a portfolio, upon which is worked the name of the person entitled to receive it. It is then placed in charge either of a trustworthy pilgrim, or of the public treasurer, who accompanies the principal caravans.

I could procure no exact information about the probable amount of money forwarded every year from Constantinople and Cairo to El Medinah;

the only point upon which men seemed to agree was that they were defrauded of half their dues. When the *Sadaka* and *Aukaf* (the alms and bequests) arrive at the town, they are committed by the *Surrah*, or financier of the caravan, to the Muftis, the chief of the Khatibs, and the Kazi's (Cadi's) clerk. These officers form a committee, and after reckoning the total of the families entitled to pensions, divide the money amongst them, according to the number in each household, and the rank of the pensioners. They are divided into five orders.

1. The Ulema, or learned, and the Mudarrisin, who profess, lecture, or teach adults in the Haram.
2. The Imams and Khatibs.
3. The descendants of the Prophet.
4. The Fukaha, poor divines, who teach boys to read the Koran: pedagogues, gerund-grinders.
5. The Awam, or *nobile vulgus* of the Holy City, including the Ahali, or burghers of the town, and the Mujawerin, or those settled in the place.

Omar Effendi belonged to the second order, and he informed me that his share varied from three to fifteen Riyals per annum.

# CHAP. XVIII.

## EL MEDINAH.*

It is equally difficult to define, politically or geographically, the limits of El Hejaz. Whilst

* Amongst a people who, like the Arabs or the Spaniards, hold a plurality of names to be a sign of dignity, so illustrious a spot as El Medinah could not fail to be rich in nomenclature. A Hadis declares, "to El Medinah belong ten names:" books, however, enumerate nearly a hundred, of which a few will suffice as a specimen.

Tabah, Tibah, Taibah, Tayyibah, and Mutayyibah, (from the root "Tib," "*good*," "*sweet*," *or* "*lawful*,") allude to the physical excellencies of El Medinah as regards climate—the perfume of the Prophet's tomb, and of the red rose, which was a thorn before it blossomed by the sweat of his brow—and to its being free from all moral impurity, such as the presence of infidels, or worshippers of idols. Mohammed declared that he was ordered by Allah to change the name of the place to Tabah from Yasrib or Asrib. The latter, according to some, was a proper name of a son of Noah; others apply it originally to a place west of Mount Ohod, not to El Medinah itself; and quote the plural form of the word, "Asarib," ("spots abounding in palms and fountains,") as a proof that it does not belong exclusively to a person. However this may be, the inauspicious signification of Yasrib, whose root is "Sarab," (destruction,) and the notorious use of the name by the pagan Arabs, have combined

to make it, like the other heathen designation, El Ghalabah obsolete, and the pious Moslem who pronounces the word is careful to purify his mouth by repeating ten times the name "El Medinah." Barah and Barrah allude to its obedience and purity; Hasunah to its beauty; Khayrah and Khayyarah to its goodness; Mahabbah, Habibah, and Mahbubah, to the favour it found in the eyes of the Prophet; whilst Jabirah, Jabbarah, and Jabarah, (from the root Jabr, joining or breaking), at once denote its good influence upon the fortunes of the Faithful and its evil effects upon the infidel. "El Iman," (the Faith,) is the name under which it is hinted at in the Koran. It is called Shafiyah (the Healer), on account of the curative effects of earth found in its neighbourhood; Nasirah, the Saving, and Asimah, the Preserving, because Mohammed and his companions were there secure from the fury of their foes; Fazihah, the Detector, from its exposing the infidel and the hypocrite; Muslimah and Muminah, the Faithful City; Mubarakah, the Blessed; Mahburah, the Happy; and Mahturah the Gifted. Mahrusah, the Guarded, and Mahfuzah, the Preserved, allude to the belief that an angel sits in each of its ten main streets, to watch over the town, and to prevent "Antichrist" entering therein. "El Dajjal," as this personage is called, will arise in the East and peregrinate the earth; but he will be unable to penetrate into Meccah, and on approaching Jebel Ohod, in sight of El Medinah, he will turn off towards his death-place, El Sham, (Damascus). In the Taurat or Pentateuch, the town is called Mukaddasah, the Holy, or Marhumah, the Pitied, in allusion to the mission of Mohammed; Marzukah, the Fed, is a favourable augury of plenty to it, and Miskinah, the Poor, hints that it is independent of treasure of gold or store of silver to keep up its dignity. El Makarr, means the Residence or the Place of Quiet; Makinat, the Firmly-fixed, (in the right faith); El Haram, the Sacred or Inviolable; and, finally, El Balad, the Town, and El Medinah, *the* City by excellence. So an

some authors, (as Abulfeda,*) fix its northern frontier at Aylah and the Desert, making Yemen

inhabitant calls himself El Madani, whilst the natives of other and less-favoured "Medinahs" affix Madini to their names.

Its titles are Arz-Allah, Allah's Land; Arz el Hijrah, the Land of Exile; Akkalat el Buldan, the Eater of Towns; and Akkalat el Kura, the Eater of Villages, on account of its superiority, even as Meccah is entitled Umm el Kura, the Mother of Villages; Bait Rasul Allah, House of Allah's Prophet; Jezirat el Arab, Isle of the Arab; and Haram Rasul Allah, the Sanctuary of Allah's Prophet. In books and letters it has sometimes the title of Medinah Musharrafah, the Exalted; more often that of Medinah Munawwarah, the Enlightened—*scil.* by the lamp of faith and the column of light supposed to be based upon the Prophet's tomb.

The Moslems are not the only people who lay claim to El Medinah. According to some authors—and the legend is more credible than at first sight it would appear—the old Guebres had in Arabia and Persia seven large fire-temples, each dedicated to a planet. At "Mahdinah," as they pervert the word, was an image of the Moon, wherefore the place was originally called the "Religion of the Moon." These Guebres, amongst other sacred spots, claim Meccah, where they say Saturn and the Moon were conjointly venerated; Jerusalem, the Tomb of Ali at Nejef, that of Hosayn at Kerbela, and others. These pretensions of course the Moslems deny with resistance, which does not prevent certain symptoms of old and decayed faith peeping out in localities where their presence, if duly understood, would be considered an abomination. This curious fact is abundantly evident in Sindh, and I have already alluded to it, (*History of Sindh*).

* To the East he limits El Hejaz by Yemamah, Nejd, and the Syrian desert, and to the west by the Red Sea. The

its southern limit, others include in it only the tract of land lying between Meccah and El Medinah. As the country has no natural boundaries, and its political limits change with every generation, perhaps the best distribution of its frontier would be that which includes all the properly called Holy Land, making Yambu the northern and Jeddah the southern extremes, while a line drawn through El Medinah, Suwayrkiyah, and Jebel Kora, the mountain of Taif, might represent its eastern boundary. Thus El Hejaz would be an irregular parallelogram, about 250 miles in length, with a maximum breadth of 150 miles. Two meanings are assigned to the name of this region; according to most authorities, it means the "Separator," or "Barrier," between Nejd and Tehamah *; according to others, the "colligated," (by mountains). It is to be observed that the people of the country, especially the Bedouins, distinguish the lowlands from the high regions by different names; the

Greeks, not without reason, included it in their Arabia Petræa. Niebuhr places the southern boundary at Hali, a little town south of Kunfudah, (Gonfoda). Captain Head (*Journey from India to Europe*) makes the village El Kasr, opposite the Island of Kotambul, the limit of El Hejaz to the south.

* Or, according to others, between Yemen and Syria.

former are called Tehamat el Hejaz—the sea-coast of El Hejaz, as we should say in India, "below the Ghauts;" the latter is known peculiarly as El Hejaz.*

Medinat el Nabi, the Prophet's City, or, as it is usually called for brevity, El Medinah, the City, is situated on the borders of Nejd, upon the vast plateau of high land which forms central Arabia. The limits of the sanctuary called the Hudud el Haram, as defined by the Prophet, may still serve to mark out the city's plain. Northwards, at a distance of about three miles, is Jebel Ohod, or, according to others, Jebel Saur, a hill somewhat

* If you ask a Bedouin near Meccah whence his fruit comes, he will reply "min El Hejaz," "from the Hejaz," meaning from the mountainous part of the country about Taif. This would be an argument in favour of those who make the word to signify a "place tied together," (by mountains). It is notorious that the Bedouins are the people who best preserve the use of old and disputed words; for which reason they were constantly referred to by the learned in the palmy days of Moslem philology. "El Hejaz," also, in this signification, well describes the country, a succession of ridges and mountain chains; whereas such a name as the "barrier" would appear to be rather the work of some geographer in his study. Thus El Nejd was so called from its high and open lands, and, briefly, in this part of the world, names are most frequently derived from some physical and material peculiarity of soil or climate.

beyond Ohod; these are the last ribs of the vast primitive and granitic* chine that, extending from Lebanon to near Aden, and from Aden again to Muscat, fringes the Arabian trapezium. To the S.W. the plain is bounded by ridges of scoriaceous basalt, and by a buttress of rock called Jebel Ayr, like Ohod, about three miles distant from the town. Westward, according to some authors, is the Mosque Zu'l Halifah. On the east there are no natural landmarks, or even artificial, like the "Alamain" at Meccah; an imaginary line, therefore, is drawn, forming an irregular circle, of which the town is the centre, with a diameter of from ten to twelve miles. Such is the sanctuary.†

* Such is its formation in El Hejaz.

† Within the sanctuary all Muharramat, or sins, are forbidden; but the several schools advocate different degrees of strictness. The Imam Malik, for instance, allows no *latrinæ* nearer to El Medinah than Jebel Ayr, a distance of about three miles. He also forbids slaying wild animals, but at the same time he specifies no punishment for the offence. Some do not allow the felling of trees, alleging that the Prophet enjoined their preservation as an ornament to the city, and a pleasure to visitors. El Khattabi, on the contrary, permits people to cut wood, and this is certainly the general practice. All authors strenuously forbid within the boundaries slaying man (except invaders, infidels, and the sacrilegious), drinking spirits, and leading an immoral life.

As regards the dignity of the sanctuary, there is but one

Geographically considered, the plain is bounded, on the east, by a thin line of low dark hills, traversed by the Darb el Sharki, or the "eastern road," through Nejd to Meccah: southwards, the plateau is open, and almost perfectly level as far as the eye can see.

El Medinah dates its origin doubtless from ancient times, and the cause of its prosperity is evident in the abundant supply of a necessary generally scarce in Arabia. The formation of the plain is in some

opinion; a number of Hadis testify to its honour, praise its people, and threaten dreadful things to those who injure it or them. It is certain that on the last day, the Prophet will intercede for, and aid, all those who die, and are buried, at El Medinah. Therefore, the Imam Malik made but one pilgrimage to Meccah, fearing to leave his bones in any other cemetery but El Bakia. There is, however, much debate concerning the comparative sanctity of El Medinah and Meccah. Some say Mohammed preferred the former, blessing it as Abraham did Meccah. Moreover, as a tradition declares that every man's body is drawn from the dust of the ground in which he is buried, El Medinah, it is evident, had the honour of supplying materials for the Prophet's person. Others, like Omar, were uncertain in favour of which city to decide. Others openly assert the pre-eminence of Meccah; the general *consensus* of El Islam preferring El Medinah to Meccah, save only the Bait Allah in the latter city. This last is a *juste-milieu* view, by no means in favour with the inhabitants of either place. In the meanwhile the Meccans claim unlimited superiority over the Madani; the Madani over the Meccans.

places salt sand, but usually a white chalk, and a loamy clay, which even by the roughest manipulation makes tolerable bricks. Lime also abounds. The town is situated upon a gently shelving part of the plain, the lowest portion of which, to judge from the water-shed, is at the southern base of Mount Ohod, hence called El Safilah, and the Awali, or plains about Kuba, and the East. The southern and south-eastern walls of the suburb are sometimes carried away by violent "Sayl," or torrents, which after rain sweep down from the western as well as from the eastern highlands. The water-shed is toward some lowlands in the northern and western hills, a little beyond Mount Ohod, and called El Ghabbah. This "basin" receives the drainage of the mountains and the plain, according to some absorbing it, according to others collecting it till of sufficient volume to flow off to the sea. Water is abundant, though rarely of good quality. In the days of the Prophet, the Madani consumed the produce of wells, seven of which are still celebrated by the people.* Historians relate that Omar, the second Caliph, provided the town with drinking-water from the northern parts of the

* These seven wells will be noticed in Chapter XIX.

plains by means of an aqueduct. The modern city is supplied by a source called the Ayn El Zarka or Azure spring*, which arises some say at the foot of Mount Ayr, others, with greater probability, in the date-groves of Kuba. Its waters were first brought to El Medinah by Marwan, governor in El Muawiyah's day. It now flows down a subterraneous canal, about 30 feet below the surface; in some places the water is exposed to the air, and steps lead to it for the convenience of the inhabitants—this

* I translate El Zarka "azure," although Sir G. Wilkinson remarks, *àpropos* of the Bahr el Azrak, generally translated by us the "Blue Nile," that, "when the Arabs wish to say dark or jet black, they use the word "Azrak." It is true that Azrak is often applied to indeterminate dark hues, but "Aswad," not Azrak, is the opposite to Abyaz, "white." Moreover, El *Zarka* in the feminine is applied to women with light blue eyes; this would be no distinctive appellation if it signified black eyes, the almost universal colour. Zarka of Yemamah is the name of a celebrated heroine in Arab story, and the curious reader, who wishes to see how much the West is indebted to the East, even for the materials of legend, will do well to peruse her short history in Major Price's "Essay," or M. C. de Perceval's "Essai," &c., vol. i. p. 101. Both of these writers, however, assert that Zarka's eyes, when cut out, were found to contain fibres blackened by the use of Kohl, and attribute to her the invention of this pigment. I have often heard the legend from the Arabs, who declare that she painted her eyes with "Ismid," a yellow metal, of what kind I have never been able to determine, although its name is everywhere known.

was the work of Sultan Sulayman the Magnificent. After passing through the town it turns to the N.W.—its course being marked by a line of circular walls breast high, like the Kariz of Afghanistan, placed at unequal distances, and resembling wells; then it loses itself in the Nakhil or palm-groves. During my stay at El Medinah, I always drank this water, which appeared to me, as the citizens declared it to be, sweet and wholesome.* There are many wells in the town, as water is found at about 20 feet below the surface of the soil, but few of them produce anything fit for drinking, some being salt, and others bitter. As usual in the hilly countries of the East, the wide beds and fiumaras, even in the dry season, will supply the travellers for a day or two with an abundance of water, infiltrated into, and, in some cases, flowing beneath the sand.

The climate of the plain is celebrated for a long and comparatively speaking rigorous winter; a

* Burckhardt confounds the Ayn el Zarka with the Bir el Khatim, or Kuba well, of whose produce the surplus only mixes with it, and he complains loudly of the "detestable water of Medinah." But he was ill at the time, otherwise he would not have condemned it so strongly after eulogising the salt-bitter produce of the Meccan Zemzem.

popular saying records the opinion of the Prophet "that he who patiently endures the cold of El Medinah and the heat of Meccah, merits a reward in Paradise." Ice is not seen in the town, but may frequently be met with, it is said, on Jebel Ohod; fires are lighted in the houses during winter, and palsies attack those who at this season imprudently bathe in cold water. The fair complexions of the people prove that this account of the wintry rigours is not exaggerated. Chilly and violent winds from the eastern desert are much dreaded, and though Ohod screens the town on the N. and N.E. a gap in the mountains to the N.W. fills the air at times with rain and comfortless blasts. The rains begin in October, and last with considerable intervals through the winter; the clouds, gathered by the hill-tops and the trees near the town, discharge themselves with violence, and at the equinoxes thunder-storms are common. At such times the Barr El Munakhah, or the open space between the town and the suburbs, is a sheet of water, and the land about the south and the south-eastern wall of the faubourg a lake. Rain, however, is not considered unhealthy here, and the people, unlike the Meccans and the Cairenes, expect it with pleasure, because it improves their date-trees and

fruit plantations.* In winter it usually rains at night, in spring during the morning, and in summer about evening time. This is the case throughout El Hejaz, as explained by the poet Lebid in these lines, where he describes the desolate site of an old encampment.

"It (the place) hath been fertilised by the first spring-showers
of the constellations, and hath been swept by
The incessant torrents of the thunder-clouds, falling in heavy
and in gentle rains,
From each night-cloud, and heavily dropping morning-cloud,
And the even-cloud, whose crashings are re-echoed from around."

And the European reader will observe that the Arabs generally reckon three seasons, including our autumn in their summer. The hot weather at El Medinah appeared to me as extreme as the wintry cold is described to be, but the air was dry, and the open plain prevented the faint and stagnant sultriness which distinguishes Meccah. Moreover, though the afternoons were close, the nights and the mornings were cool and dewy. At this season of

* The people of Nejd, as Wallin informs us, believe that the more the palms are watered, the more syrup will the fruit produce; they, therefore, inundate the ground as often as possible. At El Jauf, where the date is peculiarly good, the trees are watered regularly every third or fourth day.

the year the citizens sleep on the house-tops, or on the ground outside their doors. Strangers must follow this example with circumspection; the open air is safe in the Desert, but in cities it causes to the unaccustomed violent colds and febrile affections.

I collected the following notes upon the diseases and medical treatment of the northern Hejaz. El Medinah has been visited four times by the Rih el Asfar*, or Cholera Morbus, which is said to have committed great ravages, sometimes carrying off whole households. In the Rahmat el Kabirah, the "Great Mercy," as the worst attack is piously called, whenever a man vomited, he was abandoned to his fate; before that, he was treated with mint, lime-juice, and copious draughts of coffee. It is still the boast of El Medinah that the Táún or plague has never passed their frontier.† The Judari, or small-pox, appears to be indigenous to the countries bordering upon the Red Sea; we

* Properly meaning the yellow wind or air; the antiquity of the word and its origin are still disputed.

† Burckhardt (Travels in Arabia, vol. 2.) informs us, that in A.D. 1815, when Meccah, Yambu, and Jedda, suffered severely from the plague, El Medinah and the open country between the two seaports escaped.

read of it there in the earliest works of the Arabs *, and even to the present day, it sometimes sweeps through Arabia and the Somali country with desolating violence. In the town of El Medinah it is fatal to children, many of whom, however, are in these days inoculated †: amongst the Bedouins old men die of it, but adults are rarely victims, either in the city or in the desert. The nurse closes up the room during the day, and carefully excludes the night-air, believing that, as

* Conjecture, however, goes a little too far when it discovers small-pox in the Tayr Ababil, the "swallow birds," which, according to the Koran, destroyed the host of Abrahat el Ashram. Major Price (Essay) may be right in making Ababil the plural of Abilah, a vesicle; but it appears to me that the former is an Arabic and the latter a Persian word, which have no connection whatever. M. C. de Perceval, quoting the Sirat el Rasul, which says that at that time small-pox first appeared in Arabia, ascribes the destruction of the host of Yemen to an epidemic and a violent tempest. The strangest part of the story is, that although it occurred at Meccah, about two months before Mohammed's birth, and, therefore, within the memory of many living at the time, the Prophet alludes to it in the Koran as a miracle.

† In Yemen, we are told by Niebuhr, a rude form of inoculation — the mother pricking the child's arm with a thorn — has been known from time immemorial. My Medinah friend assured me that only during the last generation, this practice has been introduced amongst the Bedouins of El Hejaz.

the disease is "hot"*, a breath of wind would kill the patient. During the hours of darkness, a lighted candle or lamp is always placed by the side of the bed, or the sufferer would die of madness, brought on by evil spirits or fright. Sheep's-wool is burnt in the sick-room, as death would follow the inhaling of any perfume. The only remedy I have heard of is pounded Kohl (antimony) drank in water, and the same is drawn along the breadth of the eyelid, to prevent blindness. The diet is Adas (lentils) †, and a peculiar kind of date, called Tamr el Birni. On the 21st day, the patient is washed with salt and tepid water. Ophthalmia is rare.‡ In the summer, quotidian and tertian fevers (Hummah Salis) are not un-

* Orientals divide their diseases, as they do remedies and articles of diet, into hot, cold, and temperate.

† This grain is cheaper than rice on the banks of the Nile—a fact which enlightened England, now paying a hundred times its value for "Revalenta Arabica," apparently ignores.

‡ Herodotus (Euterpe) has two allusions to eye disease, which seems to have afflicted the Egyptians from the most ancient times. Sesostris the Great died stone-blind; his successor lost his sight for ten years, and the Hermaic books had reason to devote a whole volume to ophthalmic disease. But in the old days of idolatry, the hygienic and prophylactic practices alluded to by Herodotus, the greater cleanliness of the people, and the

common, and if accompanied by vomitings, they are frequently fatal. The attack generally begins

attention paid to the canals and drainage, probably prevented this malarious disease becoming the scourge which it is now.

The similarity of the soil and the climate of Egypt to that of Upper Sindh, and the prevalence of the complaint in both countries, assist us in investigating the predisposing causes. These are, the nitrous and pungent nature of the soil — what the old Greek calls "acrid matter exuding from the earth," — and the sudden transition from extreme dryness to excessive damp checking the invisible perspiration of the circumorbital parts, and flying to an organ which is already weakened by the fierce glare of the sun, and the fine dust raised by the Khamsin or the Chaliho. Glare and dust alone seldom cause eye disease. Every one knows that ophthalmia is unknown in the desert, and the people of El Hejaz, who live in an atmosphere of blaze and sand, seldom lose their sight.

The Egyptian usually catches ophthalmia in his childhood. It begins with simple conjunctivitis, caused by constitutional predisposition, exposure, diet, and allowing the eye to be covered with swarms of flies. He neglects the early symptoms, and cares the less for being a Cyclops, as the infirmity will most probably exempt him from military service. Presently the sane organ becomes affected sympathetically. As before, simple disease of the conjunctiva passes into purulent ophthalmia. The man, after waiting a while, will go to the doctor and show a large cicatrix in each eye, the result of an ulcerated cornea. Physic can do nothing for him; he remains blind for life. He is now provided for, either by living with his friends, who seldom refuse him a loaf of bread, or if industriously inclined, by begging, by acting Muezzin, or by engaging himself as "Yemeniyah," or chaunter, at funerals. His children are

with the Naffazah, or cold fit, and is followed by El Hummah, the hot stage. The principal reme-

thus predisposed to the paternal complaint, and gradually the race becomes tender-eyed. Most travellers have observed that imported African slaves seldom become blind either in Egypt or in Sindh.

Few Englishmen settled in Egypt lose their sight, except it be medical men, who cannot afford time to nurse the early symptoms. The use of coffee and of water as beverages has much to do with this. In the days of hard drinking our Egyptian army suffered severely, and the Austrians in Tuscany show how often blindness is caused by importing northern habits into southern countries. Many Europeans in Egypt wash their eyes with cold water, especially after walking, and some use once a day a mildly astringent or cooling wash, as Goulard's lotion or vinegar and water. They avoid letting flies settle upon their eyes, and are of opinion that the evening dews are prejudicial, and that sleeping with open windows lays the foundation of disease. Generally when leaving a hot room, especially a Nile-boat cabin, for the cold damp night air, the more prudent are careful to bathe and wipe the eyes and forehead as a preparation for change of atmosphere.

During my short practice in Egypt I found the greatest advantage from the employment of counter-irritants, — blisters and Pommadí Emétisié, — applied to the temples and behind the ears. Native practitioners greatly err by confining their patients in dark rooms, thereby injuring the general health and laying the foundation of chronic disease. They are ignorant that, unless the optic nerve be affected, the stimulus of light is beneficial to the eye. And the people by their dress favour the effects of glare and dust. The Tarboosh, no longer surrounded as of old by a huge turban, is the least efficient of protectors, and the comparative rarity of ophthalmic disease among the

dies are cooling drinks, such as Sikanjebin (oxymel) and syrups. After the fever the face and body frequently swell, and indurated lumps appear in the legs and stomach. There are also low fevers, called simply Hummah; they are usually treated by burning charms in the patient's room. Jaundice and bilious complaints are common, and the former is popularly cured in a peculiar way. The sick man looks into a pot full of water, whilst the exorciser, reciting a certain spell, draws the heads of two needles from the patient's ears along his eyes, down his face, lastly dipping them into water, which at once becomes yellow. Others have "Mirayat," magic mirrors*,

women, who wear veils, proves that exposure is one of its co-efficient causes.

* This invention dates from the most ancient times, and both in the East and the West has been used by the weird brotherhood to produce the appearances of the absent and the dead, to discover treasure, to detect thieves, to cure disease, and to learn the secrets of the unknown world. The Hindus called it Anjan, and formed it by applying lamp-black, made of a certain root, and mixed with oil to the palm of a footling child, male or female. The Greeks used oil poured into a boy's hand. Cornelius Agrippa had a crystal mirror, which material also served the Counts de Saint Germain and Cagliostro. Dr. Dee's "show-stone" was a bit of cannel coal. The modern Sindhians know the art by the name of Gahno or Vinyano; there, as in southern Persia, ink is rubbed upon

on which the patient looks, and loses the complaint. Dysenteries frequently occur in the fruit

the seer's thumb-nail. The people of northern Africa are considered skilful in this science, and I have a Maghrabi magic formula for inking the hand of a "boy, a black slave girl, a virgin, or a pregnant woman," which differ materially from those generally known. The modern Egyptians call it Zarb el Mandal, and there is scarcely a man in Cairo who does not know something about it. In selecting subjects to hold the ink, they observe the right hand, and reject all who have not what is called in palmestry the "linea media naturalis" straight and deeply cut. Even the barbarous Finns look into a glass of brandy, and the natives of Australia gaze at a kind of shining stone. Lady Blessington's crystal ball is fresh in the memory of the present generation, and most men have heard of Electro-Biology and the Cairo magician.

Upon this latter subject, a vexed one, I must venture a few remarks. In the first account of the magician by Mr. Lane, we have a fair and dispassionate recital of certain magical, mystical, or mesmeric phenomena, which "excited considerable curiosity and interest throughout the civilised world." As usual in such matters, the civilised world was wholly ignorant of what was going on at home; otherwise, in London, Paris, and New York, they might have found dozens studying the science. But a few years before, Dr. Herklots had described the same practice in India, filling three goodly pages; but he called his work "Qanoon-i-Islam," and, consequently, despite its excellencies, it fell still-born from the press. Lady H. Stanhope frequently declared "the spell by which the face of an absent person is thrown upon a mirror to be within the reach of the humblest and most contemptible of magicians;" but the civilised world did not care to believe a prophetess.

season, when the greedy Arabs devour all manner of unripe peaches, grapes, and pomegranates. The popular treatment is by the actual cautery; the scientific affect the use of drastics and astringent simples, and the Bizr el Kutn, (cotton-seed,) toasted, pounded, and drunk in warm water. Almost every one here, as in Egypt, suffers more or less from hæmorrhoids; they are treated by

All, however, were aroused by Mr. Lane's discovery, and determined to decide the question by the ordeal of reason.

Accordingly, in A. D. 1844, Mr. Lane, aided by Lord Nugent and others, discovered that a "coarse and stupid fraud" had been perpetrated upon him by Usman Effendi, the Scotchman. In 1845, Sir G. Wilkinson remarks of this rationalism, "The explanation lately offered that Usman Effendi was in collusion with the magician, is neither fair on him nor satisfactory, as he was not present when those cases occurred which were made so much of in Europe," and he proposes "leading questions and accidents" as the word of the riddle. Eothen attributes the whole affair to "shots," as schoolboys call them, and ranks success under the head of Paley's "tentative miracles." A writer in the Quarterly explains them by suggesting the probability of divers (impossible) optical combinations, and, lest the part of belief should have been left unrepresented, Miss Martineau was enabled to see clear signs of mesmeric action, and by the decisive experiment of self discovered the magic to be an "affair of mesmerism." Melancholy to relate, after all this philosophy, the herd of travellers at Cairo is still divided in opinion about the magician, some holding his performance to be "all humbug," others darkly hinting that "there may be something in it."

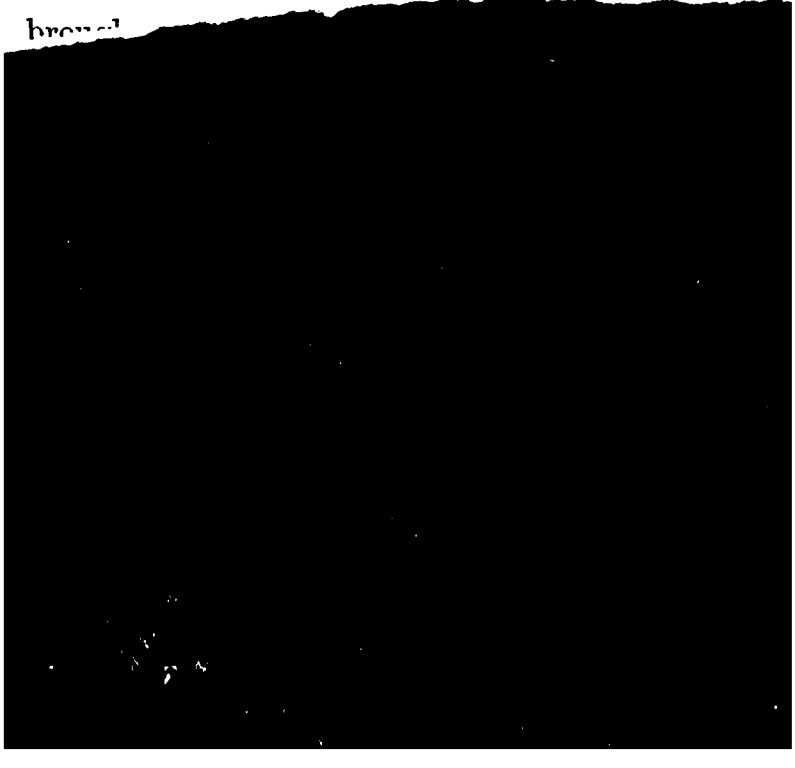
dietetics—eggs and leeks—and by a variety of drugs, Myrobalans, Lisan-el-Hamal, (Arnoglossum,) &c. But the patients look with horror at the scissors and knife, so that they seldon succeed in obtaining a radical cure. The Filaria Medinensis, locally called "Farantit," is no longer common at the place which gave it its European name. At Yambu, however, the people suffer much from the Vena appearing in the legs. The complaint is treated here as in India and Abyssinia: when the tumour bursts, and the worm shows, it is extracted by being gradually wound round a splinter of wood. Hydrophobia is rare, and the people have many superstitions about it. They suppose that a bit of meat falls from the sky, and that the dog who eats it becomes mad. I was assured by respectable persons, that when a man is bitten, they shut him up with food, in a solitary chamber, for four days, and that if at the end of that time he still howls like a dog, they expel the Ghul (Devil) from him, by pouring over him boiling water mixed with ashes—a certain cure I can easily believe. The only description of leprosy known in El Hejaz is that called "Baras:" it appears in white patches on the skin, seldom attacks any but the poorer classes, and is con-

sidered incurable. Wounds are treated by Marham, or ointments, especially the Balesan, or Balsam of Meccah ; a cloth is tied round the limb, and not removed till the wound heals, which amongst this people of simple life generally takes place by first intention. There is, however, the greatest prejudice against allowing water to touch a wound or a sore. Ulcers are common in El Hejaz, as indeed all over Arabia. We read of them in ancient times. In A.D. 504, the poet and



practicable, by cutting off the joint ; the drugs popularly applied are Tutiya (tutty) and verdigris. There is no cure but rest, a generous diet, and change of air.

By the above short account it will be seen that the Arabs are no longer the most skilful physicians in the world. They have, however, one great advantage in their practice, and are sensible enough to make free use of it. As the children of almost all respectable citizens are



fort, and a suburb little smaller than the body of the place. The town itself is about one-third larger than Suez, or about half the size of Meccah. It is a walled enclosure forming an irregular oval with four gates. The Bab el Shami, or "Syrian Gate," in the north-west side of the enceinte leads towards Jebel Ohod, Hamzah's burial-place and the mountains. In the eastern wall, the Bab el Jumah, or Friday Gate, opens upon the Nejd road and the cemetery, El Bakia. Between the Shami and the Jumah gates, towards the north, is the Bab el Ziyafah (of Hospitality;) and westwards the Bab el Misri (Egyptian) opens upon the plain called the Barr el Munakhah. The eastern and the Egyptian gates are fine massive buildings, with double towers close together, painted with broad bands of red, yellow, and other colours, not unlike that old entrance of the Cairo citadel which opens upon the Rumayliyah plain.* In their shady and well-watered interiors, soldiers find room to keep guard, camel-men dispute, and numerous idlers congregate, to enjoy the luxuries of coolness and

* They may be compared to the gateway towers of the old Norman castles — Arques, for instance.

companionship. Beyond this gate, in the street leading to the mosque, is the great bazaar. Outside it lie the Suk el Khuẓayriyah, or green-grocers' market, and the Suk el Habbabah, or the grain bazaar, with a fair sprinkling of coffee-houses. These markets are long masses of palm-leaf huts, blackened in the sun and wind, of a mean and squalid appearance, detracting greatly from the appearance of the gate. Amongst them there is a little domed and whitewashed building, which I was told is a Sabil or public fountain. In the days of the Prophet the town was not walled. Even in El Edrisi's time (twelfth cent.) and as late as Bartema's (eighteenth cent.), the fortifications were walls of earth, built by order of Kasim el Daulat el Ghori, who repopulated the town and provided for its inhabitants. Now, the enceinte is in excellent condition. The walls are well built of granite and lava blocks, in regular layers, cemented with lime; they are provided with "Mazghal" (or matras) long loopholes, and Shararif or trefoil-shaped crenelles: in order to secure a flanking fire, semicircular towers, also loopholed and crenellated, are disposed in the curtain at short and irregular intervals. Inside, the streets are what they

always should be in these torrid lands, deep, dark, and narrow, in few places paved—a thing to be deprecated—and generally covered with black earth well watered and trodden to hardness. The most considerable lines radiate towards the mosques. There are few public buildings. The principal Wakalahs are four in number; one is the Wakalat Bab Salam near the Haram, another the Wakalat Jebarti, and two are inside the Misri gate; they all belong to Arab citizens. These caravanserais are principally used as stores, rarely for dwelling places like those of Cairo; travellers, therefore, must hire houses at a considerable expense, or pitch tents to the detriment of health and to their extreme discomfort. The other public buildings are a few mean coffee-houses and an excellent bath in the Harat Zarawan inside the town: it is far superior to the unclean establishments of Cairo, and borrows something of the luxury of Stamboul. The houses are well built for the East, flat-roofed and double-storied; the materials generally used are a basaltic scoria, burnt brick and Palm wood. The best of them enclose spacious court-yards and small gardens with wells, where water basins and date trees gladden the owners' eyes.

The latticed balconies, first seen by the European traveller at Alexandria, are here common, and the windows are mere apertures in the walls, garnished, as usual in Arab cities, with a shutter of planking. El Medinah fell rapidly under the Wahhabis, but after their retreat, it soon rose again, and now it is probably as comfortable and flourishing a little city as any to be found in the East. It contains between fifty and sixty streets, including the alleys and *culs de sac.* There is about the same number of Harat or quarters; but I have nothing to relate of them save their names. Within the town few houses are in a dilapidated condition. The best authorities estimate the number of habitations at about 1500 within the enceinte, and those in the suburb at 1000. I consider both accounts exaggerated; the former might contain 800, and the Munakhah perhaps 500; at the same time I must confess not to have counted them, and Captain Sadlier (in A.D. 1819) declares that the Turks, who had just made a kind of census, reckoned 6000 houses and a population of 8,000 souls. Assuming the population to be 16,000 (Burckhardt estimates it as high as 20,000), of which 9000 occupy the city, and 7,000 the suburbs and fort, this

would give little more than twelve inhabitants to each house (taking the total number at 1,300), a fair estimate for an Arab town, where the abodes are large and slaves abound.*

The castle joins on to the N.W. angle of the city enceinte, and the wall of its eastern outwork is pierced for a communication between the Munakhah Suburb, through a court strewed with guns and warlike apparatus, and the Bab el Shami, or the Syrian Gate. Having been refused entrance into the fort, I can describe only its exterior. The outer wall resembles that of the city, only its towers are more solid, and the curtain appears better calculated for work. Inside, a donjon, built

* I afterwards received the following information from Mr. Charles Cole, H. B. M. vice-consul at Jeddah, a gentleman well acquainted with Arabia, and having access to official information.

"The population of El Medinah is from 16,000 to 18,000, and the Nizam troops in garrison 400. Meccah contains about 45,000 inhabitants, Yambu from 6,000 to 7,000, Jeddah about 2,500 (this I think is too low), and Taif 8,000. Most of the troops are stationed at Meccah and Jeddah. In El Hejaz there is a total force of five battalions, each of which ought to contain 800 men; they may amount to 3,500, with 500 artillery, and 4,500 irregulars, though the pay rolls bear 6,000. The government pays in paper for all supplies, (even water for the troops,) and the paper sells at the rate of forty piastres per cent."

upon a rock, bears proudly enough the banner of the crescent and the star; its whitewashed walls make it a conspicuous object, and guns pointed in all directions, especially upon the town, project from their embrasures. The castle is said to contain wells, bomb proofs, provisions, and munitions of war; if so, it must be a kind of Gibraltar to the Bedouins and the Wahhabis. The garrison consisted of a Nisf Urtah *, or half battalion (400 men) of Nizam infantry, commanded by a Pacha; his authority also extends to a Sanjak, or about 500 Kurdish and Albanian irregular cavalry, whose duty it is to escort caravans, to convey treasures, and to be shot in the passes. The Madani, who, as usual with Orientals, take a personal pride in their castle, speak of it with much exaggeration. Commanded by a high line of rocks on the N.W., and built as it is without in most places moat, glacis, earthwork, or outworks, a few shells and a single battery of siege guns would soon render it untenable. In ancient times it has more than once been held by a party at feud with the town, for whose

* The Urtah or battalion here varies from 800 to 1,000 men. Of these four form one Alai or regiment, and thirty-six Alai an Urdu or camp. May not this word Urdu, pronounced "Ordoo," be the origin of our "horde"?



R. BURTON, DEL.

HANHART, LITH.

MUSALLA EL NABI THE PROPHET'S PLACE OF PRAYER.

mimic battles the Barr el Munakhah was a fitting field. Northward from the fort, on the road to Ohod, but still within fire, is a long many-windowed building, formerly Daud Pacha's palace. In my time it had been bought by Abbas Pacha of Egypt.

The suburbs lie to the S. and W. of the town. Southwards they are separated from the enceinte by a wide road, called the Darb el Jenazah, the Road of Biers, so called because the corpses of certain Schismatics, who may not pass through the city, are carried this way to their peculiar cemetery near the Bab el Jumah, or Eastern Gate. Westwards, between El Medinah and its faubourg, lies the plain of El Munakhah, about three quarters of a mile long, by 300 yards broad. The straggling suburbs occupy more ground than the city; fronting the enceinte they are without walls; towards the west, where open country lies, they are enclosed by mud or raw brick ramparts, with little round towers, all falling to decay. A number of small gates lead from the suburb into the country. The only large one, a poor copy of the Bab el Nasr at Cairo, is the Ambari or western entrance, through which we passed into El Medinah. The suburb contains no buildings of

any consequence, except the Khaskiyah, or official residence of the Muhafiz, (governor), a plain building near the Barr el Munakhah, and the Khamsah Masajid, or the Five Mosques, which every Zair is expected to visit. They are

1. The Prophet's mosque in the Munakhah.
2. Abubekr's, near the Ayn el Zarka.
3. Ali's mosque in the Zukak el Tayyar of the Munakhah. Some authors call this the "Musalla el Eed," because the Prophet here prayed the Festival Prayer.
4. Omar's mosque, near the Bab Kuba of the Munakhah, and close to the little torrent called El Sayh.
5. Balal's mosque, celebrated in books; I did not see it, and some Madani assured me that it no longer exists.

A description of one of these buildings will suffice, for they are all similar. Mohammed's mosque in the Munakhah stands upon a spot formerly occupied, some say, by the Jami Ghamamah. Others believe it to be founded upon the Musalla el Nabi, a place where the Prophet recited the first Festival prayers after his arrival at El Medinah, and used frequently to pray, and to address those of his followers who lived far from

the Haram.* It is a trim modern building of cut stone and lime, in regular layers of parallelogrammic shape, surmounted by one large and four smaller cupolas. These are all white-washed, and the principal one is capped with a large crescent, or rather a trident rising from a series of gilt globes. The minaret is the usual Turkish shape, with a conical roof, and a single gallery for the Muezzin. An acacia tree or two on the eastern side, and behind it a wall-like line of mud-houses, finish the *coup-d'œil;* the interior of this building is as simple as the exterior. And here I may remark that the Arabs have little idea of splendour, either in their public or in their private architecture. Whatever strikes the traveller's eye in El Hejaz is always either an importation or the work of foreign artists. This arises from the simple tastes of the people, combined, doubtless, with their notable thriftiness. If strangers will build for them, they argue, why should they build for themselves? Moreover, they have scant inducement to lavish money upon grand edifices. When-

* One of the traditions, "between my house and my place of prayers is a garden of the gardens of Paradise," has led divines to measure the distance: it is said to be 1000 cubits from the Bab Salam of the Haram to this Musalla.

ever a disturbance takes place, domestic or from without, the principal buildings are sure to suffer. And the climate is inimical to their enduring. Both ground and air at Meccah, as well as at El Medinah, are damp and nitrous in winter, in summer dry and torrid: the lime is poor; palm-timber soon decays; even foreign wood-work suffers, and a few years suffice to level the proudest pile with the dust.

The suburbs to the S. of El Medinah are a collection of walled villages, with plantations and gardens between. They are laid out in the form, called here as in Egypt, Hosh—court-yards, with single-storied buildings opening into them. These enclosures contain the cattle of the inhabitants; they have strong wooden doors, shut at night to prevent "lifting," and are capable of being stoutly defended. The inhabitants of the suburb are for the most part Bedouin settlers, and a race of schismatics who will be noticed in another chapter. Beyond these suburbs, to the S., as well as to the N. and N.E., lie gardens and extensive plantations of palm-trees.

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H. BURTON DEL.

HANHART, LITH.

SKETCH OF EL MEDINAH, BY A NATIVE ARTIST.

# CHAP. XIX.

## A RIDE TO THE MOSQUE OF KUBA.

THE principal places of pious visitation in the vicinity of El Medinah, are the Mosques of Kuba, the Cemetery El Bakia, and the martyr Hamzah's tomb, at the foot of Mount Ohod. These the Zair is directed by all the Ulema to visit, and on the holy ground to pray Allah for a blessing upon himself, and upon his brethren of the faith.

Early one Saturday morning, I started for Kuba with a motley crowd of devotees. Shaykh Hamid, my Muzawwir, was by my side, mounted upon an ass more miserable than I had yet seen. The boy Mohammed had procured for me a Meccan dromedary, with splendid trappings, a saddle with burnished metal peaks before and behind, covered with a huge sheepskin dyed crimson, and girthed over fine saddle-bags, whose enormous tassels hung almost to the ground. The youth himself, being too grand to ride a donkey, and unable to borrow a horse, preferred walking. He was

proud as a peacock, being habited in a style somewhat resembling the plume of that gorgeous bird, in the coat of many colours—yellow, red, and golden flowers, apparently sewed on a field of bright green silk—which cost me so dear in the Haram. He was armed, as indeed all of us were, in readiness for the Bedouins, and he anxiously awaited opportunities of discharging his pistol. Our course lay from Shaykh Hamid's house in the Munakhah, along and up the fiumara, "El Sayh," and through the Bab Kuba, a little gate in the suburb wall, where, by the by, my mounted companion was nearly trampled down by a rush of half wild camels. Outside the town in this direction, southward, is a plain of clay, mixed with chalk, and here and there with sand, whence protrude blocks and little ridges of basalt. As far as Kuba, and the Harrah ridge to the west, the earth is sweet and makes excellent gugglets.* Immediately outside the gate I saw a kiln, where they were burning tolerable bricks. Shortly after leaving the suburb, an Indian, who joined our party upon the road, pointed out on the left of the

* The Baradiyah or gugglets of El Medinah are large and heavy, of a reddish grey colour, and celebrated for cooling water, a property not possessed by those of Meccan fabric.

way what he declared was the place of the celebrated Khandak or Moat, the Torres Vedras of Arabian History.*

Presently the Nakhil, or palm plantations, began. Nothing lovelier to the eye, weary with hot red glare, than the rich green waving crops and cool shade — for hours I could have sat and looked at it, requiring no other occupation — the "food of vision," as the Arabs call it, and "pure water to the parched throat." The air was soft and balmy, a perfumed breeze, strange luxury in El Hejaz, wandered amongst the date fronds; there were fresh flowers and bright foliage, — in fact, at midsummer, every beautiful feature of spring. Nothing more delightful to the ear than the warbling of the small birds, that sweet familiar sound, the splashing of tiny cascades from the wells into the wooden troughs, and the musical

* I afterwards found reason to doubt this location. Ibn Jubayr (12th century), places it an arrow-shot from the westward wall of El Medinah, and seems to have seen it. M. C. de Perceval states, I know not upon whose authority, that it was dug to protect the north-west, the north, and the north-eastern sides of the town: this is rendered highly improbable by the features of the ground. The learned are generally agreed that all traces of the moat had disappeared before our 15th century.

song of the water-wheels. Travellers—young travellers—in the East talk of the "dismal grating," the "mournful monotony," and the "melancholy creaking of these dismal machines." To the veteran wanderer their sound is delightful from association, reminding him of green fields, cool water-courses, hospitable villagers, and plentiful crops. The expatriated Nubian, for instance, listens to the water-wheel with as deep emotion as the Ranz des Vaches ever excited in the hearts of Switzer mercenary at Naples, or "Lochaber no more," among a regiment of Highlanders in the West Indies.

The date-trees of El Medinah merit their celebrity. Their stately columnar stems, here, seem higher than in other lands, and their lower fronds are allowed to tremble in the breeze without mutilation.* These enormous palms were loaded with ripening fruit, and the clusters, carefully tied up, must often have weighed upwards of eighty pounds. They hung down between the lower

* In Egypt the lower branches of the date are lopped off about Christmas time to increase the flavour of the fruit; and the people believe that without this "taklim", as it is called, the tree would die. In upper Egypt, however, as at El Medinah, the fronds are left untouched.

branches by a bright yellow stem, as thick as a man's ancle. Books enumerate 139 varieties of trees; of these between sixty and seventy are well-known, and each is distinguished, as usual among Arabs, by its peculiar name. The best kind is El Shelebi; it is packed in skins, or in flat round boxes covered with paper, somewhat in the manner of French prunes, and sent as presents to the remotest parts of the Moslem world.* The fruit is about two inches long, with a small stone, and what appeared to me a peculiar aromatic flavour and smell; it is seldom eaten by the citizens on account of the price, which varies from two to ten piastres the pound. The tree, moreover, is rare, and said to be not so productive as the other species. The Ajwah † is eaten, but not sold, be-

* The visitor from El Medinah would be badly received by the women of his family, if he did not present them on his return with a few boxes of dates, some strings of the same fruit, and skins full of henna powder. Even the Ulema allow such articles to be carried away, although they strictly forbid keepsakes of earth or stone.

† This fruit must not be confounded with the enucleated conserve of dates, which in Arabia, as in Egypt, is known by the name of Ajwah. The Arabs infinitely despise the stuff sold at Alexandria and Cairo, declaring that it is fit only for cows. The Ajwah of the Oases, particularly of the Siwah, is of excellent quality.

cause a tradition of the Prophet declares, that whoso breaketh his fast every day with six or seven of the Ajwah-date need fear neither poison, nor magic. The third kind, El Hilwah, also a large date, derives a name from its exceeding sweetness: of this tree the Moslems relate that the Prophet planted a stone, which in a few minutes grew up and bore fruit. Next comes El Birni, of which was said, "it causeth sickness to depart, and there is no sickness in it." The Wahshi on one occasion bent its head, and salaamed to Mohammed as he ate its fruit, for which reason even now its lofty tuft turns earthwards. The Sayhani is so called, because when the founder of El Islam, holding Ali's hand, happened to pass beneath, it cried, "This is Mohammed the Prince of Prophets, and this is Ali the Prince of the Pious, and the progenitor of the immaculate Imams." Of course the descendants of so intelligent a vegetable hold high rank in the kingdom of palms, and the vulgar were in the habit of eating the Sayhani and of throwing the stones about the Haram. The Khuzayriyah is called so, because it preserves its green colour, even when perfectly ripe; it is dried and preserved as a curiosity. The Jebeli is that most usually eaten: the poorest kinds are the

"Laun," and the Hilayah, costing from 4 to 7 piastres per mudd.*

I cannot say that the dates of El Medinah are finer than those of Meccah, although it be highly heretical to hold such tenet. The produce of the former city was the favourite food of the Prophet, who invariably broke his fast with this food: a circumstance which invests it with a certain degree of relic-sanctity. The citizens delight in speaking of dates as an Irishman does of potatoes, with a manner of familiar fondness: they eat them for medicine as well as food; "Rutab," or wet dates, being held to be the most saving. It is doubtless the most savoury of remedies. The fruit is prepared in a great variety of ways: perhaps the most favourite dish is a broil with clarified butter, highly

* At El Medinah

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 12 Dirhams | (drams) | make 1 | Wukkiyah (ounce). |
| 20 Wukkiyah | | „ 1 | Ratl (pound). |
| 33 Wukkiyah and 3 | „ | „ 1 | Wukkah (less than 2 lbs.). |
| 4 Wukkah | | „ 1 | Mudd. |
| 24 Mudd | | „ 1 | Ardebb. |

This Ratl or pound is the larger one applied to particular articles of commerce—such as meat, vegetables, and clarified butter; coffee, rice, soap, &c. are sold by the smaller Ratl of Meccah, equal to 140 dirhams. In Egypt the Ratl is 144 Dirhams or 12 Wukkiyahs, about 1 lb. 2 oz. and 8 dwts. troy.

distasteful to the European palate. The date is also left upon the tree to dry, and then called "Balah:" this is eaten at dessert as the "Nukliyat" the "quatre mendiants," of Persia. Amongst peculiar preparations must be mentioned the Kulladat el Sham.* The unripe fruit is dipped in boiling water to preserve its gamboge colour, strung upon a thick thread and hung out in the air to dry. These strings are worn all over El Hejaz as necklaces by children, who seldom fail to munch the ornament when not in fear of slappings, and they are sent as presents to distant countries.

January and February are the time for the masculation† of the palm. The "Nakhwali," as he is called, opens the female flower, and having inserted the inverted male flowers, binds them together: this operation is performed as in Egypt, upon each cluster.‡ The fruit is ripe about the

* "Necklace of Syria." I was told they derive this name from the place where they are made. "El Safra" (on the Meccah road) being also called El Sham (Damascus).

† This is a translation of the Arab word "Tazkir," which is certainly more appropriate than our "caprification" applied to dates.

‡ The male tree is known by its sterility. In some countries only the fecundating pollen is scattered over the female flower, and this doubtless must have been nature's method of impregnating the date.

middle of May, and the gathering of it forms the Arabs "vendemmia." The people make merry the more readily because their favourite fruit is liable to a variety of accidents: droughts injure the tree, locusts destroy the produce, and the date crop, like most productions which men are imprudent enough to adopt singly as the staff of life, is subject to failure. One of the reasons for the excellence of Medinah dates is the quantity of water they obtain: each garden or field has its well, and even in the hottest weather the Persian wheel floods the soil every third day. It has been observed that the date-tree can live in dry and barren spots; but it loves the beds of streams and places where moisture is procurable. The palms scattered over the other parts of the Medinah plain, and depending solely upon rain water, produce less fruit, and that too of an inferior quality.

Verdure is not usually wholesome in Arabia, yet invalids leave the close atmosphere of El Medinah to seek health under the cool shades of Kuba. The gardens are divided by what might almost be called lanes, long narrow lines with tall reed fences on both sides. The graceful branches of the Tamarisk pearled with manna, and cottoned over with dew, and the broad leaves of the castor plant,

glistening in the sun, protected us from the morning rays. The ground on both sides of the way was sunken, the earth being disposed in heaps at the foot of the fences, an arrangement which facilitates irrigation, by giving a fall to the water, and in some cases affords a richer soil than the surface. This part of the Medinah plain, however, being higher than the rest, is less subject to the disease of salt and nitre. On the way here and there the earth crumbles and looks dark under the dew of morning, but nowhere has it broken out into that glittering efflorescence which notes the last stage of the attack. The fields and gardens are divided into small oblongs separated from one another by little ridges of mould which form diminutive water courses. Of the cereals there are luxuriant maize, wheat, and barley, but the latter two are in small quantities. Here and there patches of "Barsim," or Egyptian clover, glitter brightly in the sun. The principal vegetables are Badanjan (Egg plant), the Bamiyah, (a kind of esculent hibiscus, called Bhendi in India), and Mulukhiyah (Corchoris olitorius), a mucilaginous spinage common throughout this part of the East. These three are eaten by citizens of every rank; they are in fact the greens and the potatoes of El

Medinah. I remarked also onions and leeks in fair quantities, a few beds of carrots and beans, some fijl (radishes), lift (turnips), gourds, cucumbers, and similar plants. Fruit trees abound. There are fine descriptions of vines, the best of which is El Sherifi, a long white grape of a flavour somewhat resembling the produce of Tuscany.* Next to it, and very similar, is El Birni. The Hijazi is a round fruit, sweet, but insipid, which is also the reproach of the Sawadi or black grapes. And lastly, the Raziki is a small white fruit, with a diminutive stone. The Nebek, or Jujube, is here a fine large tree with a dark green leaf, roundish and polished like the olive; it is armed with a short, curved, and sharp thorn †, and bears a pale straw-coloured berry about the size of a gooseberry with red streaks, on the side next the sun. Little can

* The resemblance is probably produced by the similarity of treatment. At El Medinah, as in Italy, the vine is "married" to some tall tree, which, selfish as a husband, appropriates to itself the best of everything, — sun, breeze, and rain.

† This thorn (the Rhamnus Nabeca, or Zizyphus Spina Christi) is supposed to be that which crowned our Saviour's head. There are Mimosas in Syria; but no tree, save the fabled Zakkum, could produce the terrible apparatus with which certain French painters of the modern school have attempted to heighten the terrors of the scene.

be said in favour of the fruit, which has been compared successively by disappointed "Lotus eaters"* to a bad plum, an unripe cherry, and an insipid apple. It is, however, a favourite with the people of El Medinah, who have reckoned many varieties of the fruit: Hindi (Indian), Baladi ("native"), Tamri (date-like), &c. There are a few peaches, hard like the Egyptian, and almost tasteless, fit only for stewing, but greedily eaten in a half-ripe state, large coarse bananas, lime trees, a few water melons, figs and apples, but neither apricots nor pears.† There are three kinds of pomegranates: the best is the Shami (Syrian); it is red outside, very sweet, and costs one piastre; the Turki is large and of a white colour; and the Misri has a greenish rind, and a somewhat subacid and harsh flavour: these latter are sold four times as cheap as the best. I never saw in the East, except at Meccah, a finer fruit than the Shami: almost stoneless, like those of Muscat, they are delicately perfumed

* For what reason I am entirely unable to guess, our dictionaries translate the word Sidr (the literary name of the tree that bears the Nebek) "Lote-tree." No wonder that believers in "Homeric writ" feel their anger aroused by so poor a realisation of the beautiful myth.

† The only pears in El Hejaz, I believe, are to be found at Taif, to which place they were transplanted from Egypt.

and as large as an infant's head. El Medinah is celebrated, like Taif, for its "Rubb Rumman," a thick pomegranate syrup, drunk with water during the hot weather, and esteemed cooling and wholesome.

After threading our way through the gardens, an operation requiring less time than to describe them, we saw, peeping through the groves, Kuba's simple minaret. Then we came in sight of a confused heap of huts and dwelling-houses, chapels and towers with trees between, and foul lanes, heaps of rubbish and barking dogs,—the usual material of a Hejazi village. Having dismounted, we gave our animals in charge of a dozen infant Bedouins, the produce of the peasant gardeners, who shouted "Bakhshish" the moment they saw us. To this they were urged by their mothers, and I willingly parted with a few paras for the purpose of establishing an intercourse with fellow creatures so fearfully and wonderfully resembling the tail-less baboon. Their bodies, unlike those of Egyptian children, were slim* and

* Travellers always remark the curious pot-bellied children on the banks of the Nile. This conformation is admired by the Egyptians, who consider it a sign of strength, and a promise of fine growth.

straight, but their ribs stood out with a curious distinctness, the colour of the skin was that oily lamp-black seen upon the face of a European sweep, and the elf-locks, peeping out of the cocoa-nut heads, had been stained by the sun, wind, and rain to that reddish-brown hue which Hindoo romances have appropriated to their Rakshasas or demons. Each anatomy carried in his arms a stark-naked miniature of himself, fierce-looking babies with faces all eyes, and the strong little wretches were still able to extend the right hand and exert their lungs with direful clamour. Their mothers were fit progenitors for such progeny: long, gaunt, with emaciated limbs, wall-sided, high-shouldered, and straight-backed, with pendulous bosoms, spider-like arms, and splay feet. Their long elf-locks, wrinkled faces, and high cheek-bones, their lips darker than the epidermis, hollow staring eyes, sparkling as if to light up the extreme ugliness around, and voices screaming as if in a perennial rage, invested them with all the "charms of Sycorax." These "houris of hell" were habited in long night-gowns dyed blue to conceal want of washing, and the squalid children had about a yard of the same material wrapped round their waist for all toilette. This

is not an overdrawn portrait of the farmer race of Arabs, the most despised by their fellow countrymen, and the most hard-favoured, morally as well as physically, of all the breed.

Before entering the mosque of El Kûba * it will be necessary to call to mind some passages of its past history. When the Prophet's she camel, El Kaswa, as he was approaching El Medinah after the flight from Meccah, knelt down here, he desired his companions to mount the animal. Abubekr and Omar † did so; still she sat upon the ground, but when Ali obeyed the order, she arose. The Prophet bade him lose her halter, for she was directed by Allah, and the mosque walls were built upon the line over which she trod. It was the first place of public prayer in El Islam. Mohammed laid the first brick, and with an "Anzah" or iron-shod javelin, marked out the direction of prayer ‡, each of his successors

* I believe Kuba to be about three miles S. S. E. of El Medinah; but El Idrisi, Ibn Haukal, and Ibn Jubayz all agree in saying two miles.

† Osman, the fourth companion, was absent at this time, not having returned from the first or Little Flight to Abyssinia.

‡ Some believe that in this mosque the direction of prayer was altered from Jerusalem to Meccah, and they declare, as will presently be seen, that the Archangel Gabriel himself

followed his example. According to most historians, the land belonged to Abu Ayyub the Ansari; for which reason the "Bait Ayyub," his descendants, still perform the service of the mosque, keep the key, and share with the bawwabs or porters the alms and fees here offered by the Faithful. Others declared that the ground was the property of one Linah, a woman who was in the habit of tethering her ass there.* The Prophet used to visit it every Saturday † on foot, and always made a point of praying the dawn-prayer there on the 17th Ramazan.‡ A number of

pointed out the new line. M. C. De Perceval forgets his usual accuracy when he asserts "le Mihrab de la mosquée de Médine, qui fut d'abord placé au Nord, fut transféré au Midi: et la mosqueé prit le nom de Masjid-el-Kiblatayn," Mosquée des deux Kiblah. In the first place, the Mihrab is the invention of a later date, about ninety years; and, secondly, the title of El Kiblatayn is never now given to the mosque of El Medinah.

* This degrading report caused certain hypocrites to build a kind of rival chapel called the Mosque Zarar. It was burnt to the ground shortly after its erection, and all known of it is, that it stood near Kuba.

† Some say on Monday, probably because on that day Mohammed alighted at Kuba. But the present practice of El Islam handed down from generation to generation, is to visit it on the Saturday.

‡ There is on this day at Kuba a regular Ziyarat or visitation. The people pray in the Haram of El Medinah, after which they

traditions testify to its dignity: of these two are especially significant. The first assures all Moslems that a prayer at Kuba is equal to a lesser pilgrimage at Meccah in religious efficacy; and the second declares that such devotion is more acceptable to the Deity than prostrations at the Bait el Mukaddas (Jerusalem). Moreover sundry miracles took place here, and a verset of the Koran descended from heaven. For which reasons the mosque was much respected by Omar, who once finding it empty, swept it himself with a broom of thorns, and expressed his wonder at the lukewarmness of Moslem piety. It was originally a square building of very small size; Osman enlarged it in the direction of the minaret, making it sixty-six cubits each way. It is no longer "mean and decayed" as in Burckhardt's time: the Sultan Abd el Hamid, father of Mahmoud, erected a neat structure of cut stone, whose crenelles make it look more like a place of defence than of prayer. It has, however, no pretensions to grandeur. The minaret is of the Turkish shape. To the

repair to the Kuba Mosque, and go through the ceremonies which in religious efficacy equal an Umrah or lesser pilgrimage. In books I have read that the 15th of Ramazan is the proper day.

south a small and narrow Riwak, or raised hypostyle, with unpretending columns, looks out northwards upon a little open area simply sanded over; and this is the whole building.

The large Mastabah or stone bench at the entrance of the mosque, was crowded with sitting people: we therefore lost no time, after ablution and the Niyat ("the intention") peculiar to this visitation, in ascending the steps, in pulling off our slippers, and in entering the sacred building. We stood upon the Musalla el Nabi (the Prophet's place of prayer)*: after Shaykh Nur and Hamid had forcibly cleared that auspicious spot of a devout Indian, and had spread a rug upon the dirty matting, we performed a two-prostration prayer, in front of a pillar into which a diminutive marble mahrab or niche had been inserted by way of memento. Then came the Dua or supplication, which was as follows:

"O Allah! bless and preserve, and increase, and perpetuate, and benefit, and be propitious to, our lord Mohammed, and to his family, and to his companions, and be thou their Preserver! O Allah! this is the mosque Kuba, and the

* This is believed to be the spot where the Prophet performed his first Rukat, or bending of the back in prayer.

place of the Prophet's prayers. O Allah! pardon our sins, and veil our faults, and place not over us one who feareth not thee, and who pitieth not us, and pardon us, and the true believers, men and women, the quick of them and the dead; for verily thou, O Lord, art the hearer, the near to us, the answerer of our supplications." After which we recited the Testification and the Fát-háh, and we drew our palms as usual down our faces.

We then moved away to the south-eastern corner of the edifice, and stood before a mahrab in the southern wall. It is called "Takat el Kashf" or "niche of disclosure," by those who believe that as the Prophet was standing undecided about the direction of Meccah, the Archangel Gabriel removed all obstructions to his vision. There again we went through the two-prostration prayer, the supplication, the testification, and the Fát-háh, under difficulties, for people crowded us excessively. During our devotions, I vainly attempted to decypher a Cufic inscription fixed in the wall above and on the right of the mahrab,—my regret, however, at this failure was transitory, the character not being of an ancient date. Then we left the Riwak, and despite the morning sun which shone fiercely with a sickly heat, we went to

the open area where stands the "Mabrak el Nakàh," or the "place of kneeling of the she dromedary." * This, the exact spot where El Kaswa sat down, is covered with a diminutive dome of cut stone, supported by four stone pillars: the building is about eight feet high and a little less in length and breadth. It has the appearance of being modern. On the floor, which was raised by steps above the level of the ground, lay, as usual, a bit of dirty matting, upon which we again went through the ceremonies above detailed.

Then issuing from the canopy into the sun, a little outside the Riwak and close to the Mabrak, we prayed upon the "Makan el Ayat," † or the "place of signs." Here was revealed to Mohammed a passage in the Koran especially alluding to the purity of the place and of the people of Kuba, "a temple founded in purity from its first day:" and again; "there men live who loved to be cleansed, and verily Allah delights in the clean."

* "Mabrak" is the locative noun from the triliteral root "Baraka—he blessed, or he (the camel) knelt upon the ground." Perhaps this philological connection may have determined Mohammed to consider the kneeling of the dromedary a sign that Allah had blessed the spot.

† "Ayat" here means a verset of the Koran. Some authors apply the above quoted lines to the Prophet's mosque at El Medinah exclusively, others to both buildings.

The Prophet exclaimed in admiration, "O ye sons of Amr! what have ye done to deserve all this praise and beneficence?" when the people offered him an explanation of their personal cleanliness which I do not care to repeat. The mosque of Kuba from that day took a fresh title—Masjid el Takwa, or the "Mosque of Piety."

Having finished our prayers and ceremonies at the mosque of piety, we fought our way out through a crowd of importunate beggars, and turning a few paces to the left, halted near a small chapel adjoining the south-west angle of the larger temple. We there stood at a grated window in the western wall, and recited a supplication looking the while most reverently at a dark dwarf archway under which the lady Fatimah used to sit grinding grain in a hand mill. The mosque in consequence bears the name of Sittna Fatimah. A surly-looking Khadim, or guardian, stood at the door demanding a dollar in the most authoritative Arab tone—we therefore did not enter. At El Medinah and at Meccah the traveller's hand must be perpetually in his pouch: no stranger in Paris or London is more surely or more severely taken in. Already I began to fear that my eighty pounds would not suffice

for all the expenses of sight-seeing, and the apprehension was justified by the sequel. At Meccah, my purse was too low to admit of my paying five dollars for admittance to the Makam Ibrahim; which caused me much regret, as no European has ever entered it. My only friend was the boy Mohammed, who displayed a fiery economy that brought him into considerable disrepute with his countrymen. They saw with emotion that he was preaching parsimony to me solely that I might have more money to spend at Meccah under his auspices. This being palpably the case, I threw all the blame of penuriousness upon the young Machiavel's shoulders, and resolved, as he had taken charge of my finances at El Medinah, so at Meccah to administer them myself.

After praying at the window, to the great disgust of the Khadim, who openly asserted that we were "low fellows," we passed through some lanes lined with beggars and Bedouin children, till we came to a third little mosque situated due south of the larger one. This is called the Masjid Arafat, and is erected upon a mound also named Tall Arafat, because on one occasion the Prophet, being unable to visit the Holy

mountain at the pilgrimage season, stood there, saw through the intervening space, and in spirit performed the ceremony. Here also we looked into a window instead of opening the door with a silver key, and the *mesquin* appearance of all within prevented my regretting the necessity of economy. In India or Sindh every village would have a better mosque. Our last visit was to a fourth chapel, the Masjid Ali, so termed because the Prophet's son-in-law had a house upon this spot.* After praying there—and terribly hot the little hole was!—we repaired to the last place of visitation at Kuba—a large deep well called the Bir El Aris, in a garden to the west of the Mosque of Piety, with a little oratory adjoining it. A Persian wheel was going drowsily round, and the cool water fell into a tiny pool, whence it whirled and bubbled away in childish mimicry of a river. The music sounded sweet in my ears, I stubbornly refused to do any more praying—though Shaykh Hamid, for form's sake, reiterated, with parental emphasis, "how very wrong it was,"—and sat down, as the Prophet himself did not disdain to do, with

* Ibn Jubair informs us that Abubekr, Ayisha, and Omar had habitations at Kuba.

the resolution of enjoying on the brink of the well a few monuments of unwonted "Kaif." The heat was overpowering, though it was only nine o'clock, the sound of the stream was soothing, that water wheel was creaking a lullaby, and the limes and pomegranates, gently rustling, shed voluptuous fragrance through the morning air. I fell asleep—and wondrous the contrast!—dreamed that I was once more standing

"By the wall whereon hangeth the crucified vine,"

looking upon the valley of the Lianne, with its glaucous seas and grey skies, and banks here and there white with snow.

The Bir el Aris*, so called after a Jew of El Medinah, is one which the Prophet delighted to visit. He would sit upon its brink with his bare legs hanging over the side, and his companions used to imitate his example. This practice caused a sad disaster; in the sixth year of his caliphate, Osman dropped from his finger Mohammed's seal ring, which, engraved in three lines with "Mohammed—Apostle—(of) Allah," had served to seal the letters sent to neighbouring

* Some authors mention a second Bir el Aris, belonging in part to the Caliph Osman.

kings, and had descended to the three first successors.* The precious article was not recovered after three days' search, and the well was thenceforward called Bir el Khatim — of the Seal Ring. It is also called the Bir el Taflat — of Saliva† — because the Prophet honoured it by expectoration, which, by the by, he seems to have done to almost all the wells in El Medinah. The effect of the operation upon the Bir el Aris, say the historians, was to sweeten the water, which before was salt. Their testimony, however, did not prevent my detecting a pronounced medicinal taste in the lukewarm draught drawn for me by Shaykh Hamid. In the Prophet's day the total number of wells is recorded to have been twenty : most of them have long since disappeared; but there still remain seven, whose waters were drunk by the Prophet,

* Others assert, with less probability, that the article in question was lost by one Maakah, a favourite of Osman. As that ill-fated Caliph's troubles began at the time of this accident, the ring is generally compared to Solomon's. Our popular authors, who assert that Mohammed himself lost the ring, are greatly in error.

† According to some authors, Mohammed drew a bucket of water, drank part of the contents, spat into the rest, and poured it back into the well, which instantly became sweet. Ibn Jubair applies the epithet Bir El Taflat peculiarly to the Aris well: many other authors are not so exact.

and which, in consequence, the Zair is directed to visit.* They are known by the classical title of Saba Abar, or the seven wells, and their names are included in this couplet,

"Aris and Ghars, and Rumah and Buzaat
And Busat, with Bayruha and Ihn." †

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* The pious perform the Lesser Ablution upon the brink of the seven wells, and drink of the remnant of the water in "tabarruk" or to secure the blessing of God.

† Some alter the 3rd, the 5th, and the 7th names to Bir el Nabi, a well in the Kuba gardens, Bir el Ghurbal, and Bir el Fukayyir, where the Prophet, together with Salman the Persian and others of his companions, planted date trees.

The Bir el Aris has already been described.

The Bir el Ghars, Gharas or Ghars, so called, it is said, from the place where it was sunk, about ½ a mile N.E. of the Kuba mosque, is a large well with an abundance of water. Mohammed used to perform ablution on its brink, and directed Ali to wash his corpse with seven skins full of the water.

The Bir Rumah is a large well with a spring at the bottom, dug in the Wady el Akik, to the north of the mosque El Kiblatain. It is called "Kalib Mazni" (the old well of Mazni), in this tradition; "the best of old wells is the old well of Mazni." And ancient it must be if the legend say true, that when Abu Karb besieged El Medinah (A. D. 495), he was relieved of sickness by drinking its produce. Some assert that it afforded the only sweet water in El Medinah when the Prophet arrived there. When the town became crowded by an influx of visitors, this water was sold by its owner, a man of the Beni Ghaffar tribe, or according to others, by one Mazni a Jew. Osman at last bought it by paying upwards of 100 camels.

The Bir Buzaat, or Bizaat, or Bisaat, is in the Nakhil or palm

After my sleep, which was allowed to last until a pipe or two of latakia had gone round the party, we remounted our animals. On the left of the village returning towards El Medinah, my companions pointed out to me a garden, called El Madshuniyah. It contains a quarry of the yellow loam or bole-earth, called by the Arabs Tafl, the Persians Gili Sarshui and the Sindhians Metu. It is used as soap in many parts of the East, and, mixed with oil, it is supposed to cool the body, and to render the skin fresh and supple. It is related that the Prophet cured a Bedouin of the Beni Haris tribe of fever by washing him with a pot of Tafl dissolved in

plantations, outside the Bab el Shami or north-western gate of El Medinah on the right of the road leading to Ohod. Whoever washes in its waters three times shall be healed.

The Bir Busat is near the Bakai cemetery, on the left of the road leading to Kuba. The Prophet used to bathe in the water, and declared it healthy to the skin.

The Bir Bayruha, under whose trees the Prophet was fond of sitting, lies outside the Bab Dar el Ziyafah, leading to Mount Ohod. The Kamus gives the word "Bayruha upon the measure of Fayluha." Some authorities upon the subject of Ziyarat, write Bayruha, "Bir Ha,"—the well of Ha, and variously suppose "Ha" to be the name of a man, a woman, or a place.

The Bir Ihn is in a large garden E. of Kuba. Little is said in books about this well, and the people of El Medinah do not know the name.

water, and hence the earth of El Medinah derived its healing fame. As far as I could learn from the Madani, this clay is no longer valued by them, either medicinally or cosmetically: the only use they could mention was its being eaten by the fair sex, when in the peculiar state described by "chlorosis."

# CHAP. XX.

## THE VISITATION OF HAMZAH'S TOMB.

On the morning of Sunday, the twenty-third Zu'l Kaadah (28th August, 1853), arrived the great caravan from El Sham or Damascus.* It is popularly called Hajj El Shami, or the "Damascus pilgrimage," as the Egyptian Cafala is El Misri†, or the Cairo pilgrimage. It is the main stream which carries off all the small currents that at this season of general movement flow from central Asia towards the great centre of the Islamitic world, and in 1853 amounted to about 7000 souls. It was anxiously expected by the people for several reasons. In the first place, it brought with it a new curtain for the Prophet's Hujrah, the old one being in a tattered condition; secondly, it had charge of the annual stipends and pensions of the

* This city derives its name, the "Great Gate of Pilgrimage," and the "Key of the Prophet's Tomb" from its being the gathering-place of this caravan.

† The Egyptians corruptly pronounce El Misr — Cairo — "El Masr."

citizens; and thirdly, many families expected members returning under its escort to their homes. The popular anxiety was greatly increased by the disordered state of the country round about; and, moreover, the great caravan had been one day late, generally arriving on the morning of the 22nd Zu'l Kaadah.

During the night three of Shaykh Hamid's brothers, who had entered as Muzawwirs with the Haji, came suddenly to the house: they leaped off their camels, and lost not a moment in going through the usual scene of kissing, embracing, and weeping bitterly for joy. I arose in the morning, and looked out from the windows of the *majlis*: the Barr el Munakhah, from a dusty waste dotted with a few Bedouins and hair tents, had assumed all the various shapes and the colours of a kaleidescope. The eye was bewildered by the shifting of innumerable details, in all parts totally different from one another, thrown confusedly together in one small field; and, however jaded with sight-seeing, it dwelt with delight upon the vivacity, the variety, and the intense picturesqueness of the scene. In one night had sprung up a town of tents of every size, colour, and shape,— round, square and oblong,— open and closed,— from the shawl-lined and gilt-topped

pavilion of the pacha, with all the luxurious appurtenances of the Haram, to its neighbour the little dirty green "rowtie" of the tobacco-seller. They were pitched in admirable order: here ranged in a long line, where a street was required; there packed in dense masses, where thoroughfares were unnecessary. But how describe the utter confusion in the crowding, the bustling, and the vast variety and volume of sound? Huge white Syrian dromedaries, compared with which those of El Hejaz appeared mere poney-camels, jingling large bells, and bearing shugdufs* like miniature green tents, swaying and tossing upon their backs; gorgeous Takhtrawan, or litters borne between camels or mules with scarlet and brass trappings; Bedouins bestriding naked-backed "Deluls,"† and clinging like apes to the hairy humps; Arnaut, Turkish, and

* The Syrian shugduf differs entirely from that of El Hejaz. It is composed of two solid wooden cots about four feet in length, slung along the camel's sides and covered over with cloth, in the shape of a tent. They are nearly twice as heavy as the Hejazi litter, and yet a Syrian camel-man would as surely refuse to put one of the latter upon his beast's back, as the Hejazi to carry a Syrian litter.

† This is the Arabic modern word, synonymous with the Egyptian Hajin, namely, a she dromedary. The word "Nakah," at present popular in El Hejaz, means a she dromedary kept for breeding as well as riding.

Kurd irregular horsemen, fiercer looking in their mirth than Roman peasants in their rage; fainting Persian pilgrims, forcing their stubborn dromedaries to kneel, or dismounted grumbling from jaded donkeys; Kahwagis, sherbert sellers, and ambulant tobacconists crying their goods; country-people driving flocks of sheep and goats with infinite clamour through lines of horses fiercely snorting and rearing; towns-people seeking their friends; returned travellers exchanging affectionate salutes; devout Hajis jolting one another, running under the legs of camels, and tumbling over the tents' ropes in their hurry to reach the Haram; cannon roaring from the citadel; shopmen, water-carriers and fruit vendors fighting over their bargains; boys bullying heretics with loud screams; a well-mounted party of fine old Arab Shaykhs of Hamidah clan, preceded by their varlets, performing the Arzah or war dance,—compared with which the Pyrenean bear's performance is grace itself,— firing their duck guns upwards, or blowing the powder into the calves of those before them, brandishing their swords, leaping frantically the while, with their bright-coloured rags floating in the wind, tossing their long spears tufted with ostrich feathers high in the air, reckless where they fall; servants

seeking their masters, and masters their tents with vain cries of Ya Mohammed*; grandees riding mules or stalking on foot, preceded by their crowd-beaters, shouting to clear the way;—here the loud shrieks of women and children, whose litters are bumping and rasping against one another;—there the low moaning of some poor wretch that is seeking a shady corner to die in:—add a thick dust which blurs the outlines like a London fog, with a flaming sun that draws sparkles of fire from the burnished weapons of the crowd, and the brass balls of tent and litter; and—I doubt, gentle reader, that even the length, the jar, and the confusion of this description is adequate to its subject, or that any word-painting of mine can convey a just idea of the scene.

This was the day appointed for our visiting the martyrs of Ohod. After praying the dawn-prayers as directed at the Haram, we mounted our donkeys, and, armed with pistols and knives, set out from the city. Our party was a large one. Saad the Devil had offered to accompany us, and the bustle around kept him in the best of humours; Omar Effendi was also there, quiet looking and

* One might as sensibly cry out "John" in an English theatre.

humble as usual, leading his ass to avoid the trouble of dismounting every second minute.* I had the boy Mohammed and my "slave," and Shaykh Hamid was attended by half a dozen relations. To avoid the crush of the Barr el Munakhah, we made a detour westwards, over the bridge and down the course of the torrent-bed "el Sayh." We then passed along the southern wall of the castle, traversed its eastern outwork, and issued from the Bab el Shami. During the greater part of the time we were struggling through a living tide; and among dromedaries and chargers, a donkey is by no means a pleasant *monture*. With some difficulty, but without any more serious accident than a fall or two, we found ourselves in the space beyond and northward of the city. This also was covered with travellers and tents, amongst which, on an eminence to the left of the road, rose conspicuous the bright green pavilion of the Emir El Hajj, the commandant of the caravan.† Hard by, half its height surrounded by

* Respectable men in El Hejaz, when they meet friends, acquaintances, or superiors, consider it only polite to dismount from a donkey.

† The title of the pacha who has the privilege of conducting the caravan. It is a lucrative as well as an honourable em-

a kanat or tent wall, stood the Syrian or Sultan's Mahmal, all glittering with green and gilding and gold, and around it were pitched the handsome habitations of the principal officers and grandees of the pilgrimage. On the right hand lay extensive palm plantations, and on the left, strewed over the plain, were signs of wells and tanks, built to supply the Hajj with water. We pass two small buildings,— one the Kubbat El Sabak or Dome of Precedence, where the Prophet's warrior friends used to display their horsemanship; the second the *makan* or burial-place of Sayyidna Zaki el Din, one of Mohammed's multitudinous descendants. Then we fall into a plain, resembling that of Kuba but less fertile. While we are jogging over it, a few words concerning Mount Ohod may not be misplaced. A popular distich says

ployment, for the emir enjoys the *droit d'aubaine*, becoming heir to the personal property of all pilgrims who die in the holy cities or on the line of march. And no Persian, even of the poorest, would think of undertaking a pilgrimage by this line of country, without having at least 80*l.* in ready money with him.

The first person who bore the title of Emir El Hajj was Abubekr, who in the 9th year of the Hijrah led 300 Moslems from El Medinah to the Meccah pilgrimage. On this occasion idolaters and infidels were for the first time expelled the Holy City.

"Verily there is healing to the eye that looks
Unto Ohod and the two Harrats* near."

And of this holy hill the Prophet declared, "Ohod is a mountain which loves us and which

* "Harrat" from Harr (heat) is the genuine name of lava, porous basalt, scoriæ, greenstone, schiste, and others supposed to be of igneous origin. It is also used to denote a ridge or hill of such formation. One Harrat has already been mentioned in Chapter XV. The second is on the road to Ohod. There is a third Harrat, called El Wakin or El Zahrah, about one mile eastward of El Medinah. Here the Prophet wept, predicting that the last men of his faith would be foully slain. The prophecy was fulfilled in the days of Yezid, when the people of El Medinah filled their assembly with slippers and turbans to show that on account of his abominations they had cast off their allegiance as a garment. The "accursed" sent an aged sinner, Muslim bin Akbah el Marai, who, though a cripple, defeated the Madani in a battle called the "Affair of the Ridge," slaying of them 10,000 citizens, 1,700 learned and great men, 700 teachers of the Koran, and 97 Karashi nobles. This happened in the month of Z'ul Hajjah, A.H. 63. For three days the city was plundered, the streets ran blood, dogs ate human flesh in the mosque, and no less than 1000 women were insulted. It was long before El Medinah recovered from this fatal blow, which old Muslim declared would open to him the gates of Paradise.

The occurrence is now forgotten at El Medinah, though it will live in history. The people know not the place, and even the books are doubtful whether this Harrat be not upon the spot where the Khandak or moat was.

we love: it is upon the gate of Heaven"; * adding, "and Ayr† is a place which hates us and which we hate: it is upon the gate of Hell." The former sheltered Mohammed in the time of danger, therefore, on Resurrection Day it will be raised to Paradise: whereas Jebel Ayr, its neighbour, having been so ill-judged as to refuse the Prophet water on an occasion while he thirsted, will be cast incontinently into Hell. Moslem divines, be it observed, ascribe to Mohammed miraculous authority over animals, vegetables, and minerals, as well

* Meaning that on that day it shall be so treated. Many, however, suppose Ohod to be one of the four hills of paradise. The other three, according to El Tabrani from Amru bin Auf, are Sinai, Lebanon, and Mt. Warkan on the Meccan road. Others suppose Ohod to be one of the six mountains which afforded materials for the Kaabah, viz. Abu Kubays, Sinai, Kuds (at Jerusalem), Warkan and Radhwah (or Radhwa near Yambú). Also it is said that when the Lord conversed with Moses on Sinai, the mountain burst into six pieces, three of which flew to El Medinah, Ohod, Warkan and Radwah, and three to Meccah, Hira (now popularly called Jebel Nur), Sabir, (the old name for Jebel Muna), and Saur.

† "Ayr" means a "wild ass," whereas Ohod is derived from Ahad, "one,"—so called because fated to be the place of victory to those who worship *one* God. The very names, say Moslem divines, make it abundantly evident that even as the men of El Medinah were of two parties, friendly and hostile to the Prophet, so were these mountains.

as over men, angels, and jinns. Hence the speaking wolf, the weeping post, the oil-stone, and the love and hate of these two mountains. It is probably one of the many remains of ancient paganism pulled down and afterwards used to build up the edifice of El Islam. According to the old Persians, the sphere hath an active soul. Some sects of Hindus believe "mother earth," upon whose bosom we little parasites crawl, to be a living being. This was a dogma also amongst the ancient Egyptians, who denoted it by a peculiar symbol, the globe with human legs. Hence the "makrokosmos" of the plagiaristic Greeks, the animal on a large scale, whose diminutive was the "mikrokosmos"—man. "Tota natura," repeats Malpighi, "existit in minimis." Amongst the Romans, Tellus or Terra was a female deity, anthropomorphised according to their syncretic system, which furnished with strange gods their Pantheon, but forgot to append the scroll explaining the inner sense of the symbol. And some modern philosophers, Kepler, Blackmore, and others, have not scrupled to own their belief in a doctrine which as long as "life" is a mere word on man's tongue, can neither be disproved nor proved. The Mohammedans, as usual, exaggerate the dogma,—a Hadis related by Abu Hurayrah

casts on the day of judgment the sun and the moon into hell fire.

Jebel Ohod owes its present reputation to a cave which sheltered the Prophet when pursued by his enemies*, to certain springs of which he drank†, and especially to its being the scene of a battle celebrated in El Islam. On Saturday, the 11th Shawwal, in the 3rd year of the Hijrah (26th January A.D. 625) Mohammed with 700 men engaged 3000 infidels under the command of Abu Sufiyan, ran great personal danger, and lost his uncle Hamzah, the "Lord of Martyrs." On the topmost pinnacle, also, is the Kubbat Harún, the dome erected over Aaron's remains. It is now, I was told, in a ruinous condition, and is placed upon the "pinnacle of seven hills" ‡ in a position somewhat like that of certain buildings on St. Angelo in the bay of Naples. Alluding to

* This cave is a place of visitation, but I did not go there, as it is on the northern flank of the hill, and all assured me that it contained nothing worth seeing. Many ignore it altogether.

† Ohod, it is said, sent forth in the Prophet's day 360 springs, of which 10 or 12 now remain.

‡ Meaning that the visitor must ascend several smaller eminences. The time occupied is from eight to nine hours, but I should not advise my successor to attempt it in the hot weather.

the toil of reaching it, the Madani quotes a facetious rhyme inscribed upon the wall by one of their number who had wasted his breath: —

"Malun ibn Malun
Man talaa Kubbat Harun!"

*Anglicè*, "the man must be a ruffian who climbs up to Aaron's Dome." Devout Moslems visit Ohod every Thursday morning after the dawn devotions in the Haram, pray for the Shuhada of Ohod, and, after going through the ceremonies, return to the Haram in time for mid-day worship. On the 12th of Rajab, Zairs come out in large bodies from the city, encamp here for three or four days, pass the time in feasting, jollity, and devotion, as usual at saints' festivals and pilgrimages in general.

After half an hour's ride we came to the Mustarah or resting place, so called because the Prophet sat here for a few minutes on his way to the battle of Ohod. It is a newly-built square enclosure of dwarf white-washed walls, within which devotees pray. On the outside fronting El Medinah is a seat like a chair of rough stones. Here I was placed by my Muzawwir, who recited an insignificant supplication to be repeated after him. At its end with the Fát-háh and accom-

paniments, we remounted our asses and resumed our way. Travelling onwards, we came in sight of the second Harrat or ridge. It lies to the right and left of the road, and resembles lines of lava, but I had not an opportunity to examine it narrowly.* Then we reached the gardens of Ohod, which reflect in miniature those of Kuba, and presently we arrived at what explained the presence of verdure and vegetable life,—a deep fiumara full of loose sand and large stones denoting an impetuous stream. It flows along the southern base of Ohod, said to be the part of the Medinah plain, and collects the drainage of the high lands to the S. and S.E. The bed becomes impassable after rain, and sometimes the torrents overflow the neighbouring gardens. By the direction of this fiumara I judged that it must supply the Ghabbah or "basin" in the hills north of the plain. Good authorities, however, informed me that a large volume of water will not stand there, but flows down the beds that wind through the

* When engaged in such a holy errand as this, to have ridden away for the purpose of inspecting a line of black stone, would have been certain to arouse the suspicions of an Arab. Either, he would argue, you recognise the place of some treasure described in your books, or you are a magician seeking a talisman.

Ghauts westward of El Medinah and falls into the sea near the harbour of Wigh. On the south of the fiumara is a village on an eminence, containing some large brick houses now in a ruinous state; these are the villas of opulent and religious citizens who visited the place for change of air, recreation, and worship at Hamzah's tomb. Our donkeys sank fetlock-deep in the loose sand of the torrent-bed. Then reaching the northern side and ascending a gentle slope, we found ourselves upon the battle-field.

This spot, so celebrated in the annals of El Islam, is a shelving strip of land, close to the southern base of Mount Ohod. The army of the infidels advanced from the fiumara in crescent shape, with Abu Sufiyan, the general, and his idols in the centre. It is distant about three miles from El Medinah, in a northerly direction.* All the visitor sees is hard gravelly ground, covered with little heaps of various coloured granite, red

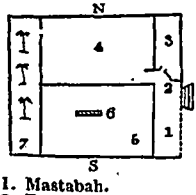
* Most Arab authors place Ohod about two miles N. of El Medinah. El Idrisi calls it the nearest hill, and calculates the distance at 6000 paces. Golius gives two leagues to Ohod and Ayr, which is much too far. In our popular accounts "Mohammed posted himself *upon* the hill of Ohod, about *six* miles from El Medinah:" these are two mistakes.

sandstone, and bits of porphyry, to denote the different places where the martyrs fell, and were buried.* Seen from this point, there is something appalling in the look of the Holy Mountain. Its seared and jagged flanks rise like masses of iron from the plain, and the crevice into which the Moslem host retired, when the disobedience of the archers in hastening to plunder enabled Khalid bin Walid to fall upon Mohammed's rear, is the only break in the grim wall. Reeking with heat, its surface produces not one green shrub or stunted tree; not a bird or beast appeared upon its inhospitable sides, and the bright blue sky glaring above its bald and sullen brow, made it look only the more repulsive. I was glad to turn my eyes away from it.

To the left of the road N. of the fiumara, and leading to the mountains, stands Hamzah's Mosque, which, like the Haram of El Medinah, is a mausoleum as well as a fane. It is a small square strongly-built edifice of hewn stone, with a dome covering the solitary hypostele to the south, and the usual minaret. The westward wing is a

* They are said to be seventy, but the heaps appeared to me at least three times more numerous.

Zawiyat or oratory *, frequented by the celebrated Sufi and Saint, Mohammed El Samman, the "clarified butter-seller," one of whose blood, the reader will remember, stood by my side in the person of Shaykh Hamid. On the eastern side of the building a half wing projects, and opens to the south, with a small door upon a Mastabah or stone bench five or six feet high, which completes the square of the edifice. On the right of the road opposite Hamzah's Mosque, is a large erection, now in ruins, containing a deep hole leading to a well, and huge platforms for the accommodation of travellers, and beyond, towards the mountains, are the small edifices presently to be described.




1. Mastabah.
2. Entrance.
3. Passage leading to Minaret.
4. Hypœthra.
5. Hypostele.
6. Hamzah's tomb.
7. The Zawiyat and palm trees.

Some Turkish women were sitting veiled upon the shady platform opposite the Martyrs' Mosque. At a little distance their husbands, and the servants holding horses and asses, lay upon the

* A Zawiyat in northern Africa resembles the Takiyah of India, Persia, and Egypt, being a monastery for dervishes who reside there singly or in numbers. A mosque, and sometimes, according to the excellent practice of El Islam, a school, are attached to it.

ground, and a large crowd of Bedouins, boys, girls, and old women, had gathered around to beg, draw water, and sell dry dates. They were awaiting the guardian, who had not yet acknowledged the summons. After half an hour's vain patience, we determined to proceed with the ceremonies. Ascending by its steps the Mastabah subtending half the eastern wall, Shaykh Hamid placed me so as to front the tomb. There, standing in the burning sun, we repeated the following prayer: "Peace be with thee, O our lord Hamzah! O paternal uncle of Allah's messenger! O paternal uncle of Allah's Prophet! Peace be with thee, O paternal uncle of Mustafa! Peace be with thee, O Prince of the Martyrs! O prince of the happy! Peace be with thee, O Lion of Allah! O Lion of his Prophet!" Concluding with the Testification and the Fátháh.

After which, we asked Hamzah and his companions to lend us their aid, in obtaining for us and ours pardon, worldly prosperity, and future happiness. Scarcely had we finished when, mounted on a high-trotting dromedary, appeared the emissary of Mohammed Khalifah, descendant of El Abbas, who keeps the key of the mosque, and receives the fees and donations of the devout. It was to be

opened for the Turkish pilgrims. I waited to see the interior. The Arab drew forth from his pouch, with abundant solemnity, a bunch of curiously made keys, and sharply directed me to stand away from and out of sight of the door. When I obeyed, grumblingly, he began to rattle the locks, and to snap the padlocks, opening them slowly, shaking them, and making as much noise as possible. The reason of the precaution—it sounded like poetry if not sense—is this. It is believed that the souls of martyrs, leaving the habitations of their senseless clay *, are fond of sitting together in spiritual converse, and profane eye must not fall upon the scene. What grand pictures these imaginative Arabs see! Conceive the majestic figures of the saints—for the soul with Mohammedans is like the old European spirit, a something immaterial in the shape of the body—

* Some historians relate that forty-six years after the battle of Ohod, the tombs were laid bare by a torrent, when the corpses appeared in their winding-sheets as if buried the day before. Some had their hands upon their death wounds, from which fresh blood trickled when the pressure was forcibly removed. In opposition to this Moslem theory, we have that of the modern Greeks, namely, that if the body be not decomposed within a year, it shows that the soul is not where it should be.

with long grey beards, earnest faces, and solemn eyes, reposing beneath the palms, and discussing events now buried in the darkness of a thousand years.

I would fain be hard upon this superstition, but shame prevents. When in Nottingham, eggs may not be carried out after sunset; when Ireland hears Banshees, or apparitional old women, with streaming hair, and dressed in blue mantles; when Scotland sees a shroud about a person, showing his approaching death; when France has her loup-garous, revenants, and poules du Vendredi Saint, (*i.e.* hens hatched on Good Friday supposed to change colour every year): as long as the Holy Coat cures devotees at Treves, Madonnas wink at Rimini, San Gennaro melts at Naples, and Addolorate and Estatiche make converts to hysteria at Rome — whilst the Virgin manifests herself to children on the Alps, whilst Germany sends forth Psychography, whilst Europe, the civilised, the enlightened, the sceptical, dotes over such puerilities as clairvoyance and table-turning; and whilst even hard-headed America believes in "mediums," in "snail-telegraphs," and "spirit-rappings,"—I must hold the men of El Medinah to be as wise, and their superstition to be as respectable as others.

But the realities of Hamzah's Mosque have little to recommend them. The building is like that of Kuba, only smaller, and the hypostele is hung with oil lamps and ostrich eggs, the usual paltry furniture of an Arab mausoleum. On the walls are a few modern inscriptions and framed poetry, written in a caligraphic hand. Beneath the Rivak lies Hamzah, under a mass of black basaltic stone *, like that of Aden, only more porous and scoriaceous, convex at the top, like a heap of earth, without the Kiswat †, or cover of a saint's tomb, and railed round with wooden bars. At his head or westward, lies Abdullah bin Jaish, a name little known to fame, under a plain white-washed tomb, also convex; and in the court-yard is a similar one, erected over the remains of Shammas bin Usman, another obscure companion.‡ We then passed

* In Ibn Jubayr's time the tomb was red.

† In the common tombs of martyrs, saints, and holy men, this covering is usually of green cloth, with long white letters sewn upon it. I forgot to ask whether it was temporarily absent from Hamzah's grave.

‡ All these erections are new. In Burckhardt's time they were mere heaps of earth, with a few loose stones placed around them. I do not know what has become of the third martyr, said to have been interred near Hamzah. Possibly some day he may reappear: meanwhile the people of El Medinah are so wealthy in saints, that they can well afford to lose sight of one.

through a door in the northern part of the western wall, and saw a diminutive palm plantation and a well. After which we left the mosque, and I was under the "fatal necessity" of paying a dollar for the honour of entering it. But the guardian promised that the chapters Y. S. and El Ikhlas should be recited for my benefit—the latter forty times—and if their efficacy be one-twentieth part of what men say it is, the reader cannot quote against me a certain popular proverb, concerning an order of men easily parted from their money.

Issuing from the mosque, we advanced a few paces towards the mountain. On our left we passed by—at a respectful distance, for the Turkish Hajis cried out that their women were engaged in ablution—a large Sehrij or tank, built of cut stone with steps, and intended to detain the overflowing waters of the torrent. The next place we prayed at was a small square, enclosed with dwarf white-washed walls, containing a few graves denoted by ovals of loose stones thinly spread upon the ground. This is primitive Arab simplicity. The Bedouins still mark the places of their dead with four stones planted at the head, the feet, and the sides, in the centre the earth is either heaped up Musannam (*i.e.* like

the hump of a camel), or more generally left Musattah—level. I therefore suppose that the latter was the original shape of the Prophet's tomb. Within the enclosure certain martyrs of the holy army were buried. After praying there, we repaired to a small building still nearer to the foot of the mountain. It is the usual cupola springing from four square walls, not in the best preservation. Here the Prophet prayed, and it is called the Khubbat El Sanaya, "Dome of the Front Teeth," from the following circumstance. Five infidels were bound by oath to slay Mohammed at the battle of Ohod: one of these, Ibn Kumayyah, threw so many stones and with such good will that two rings of the Prophet's helmet were driven into his cheek, and blood poured from his brow down his mustachios, which he wiped with a cloak to prevent the drops falling to the ground. Then Utbah bin Abi Wakkas hurled a stone at him, which, splitting his lower lip, knocked out one of his front teeth.* On the left of the Mihrab, inserted low down in the wall,

* Formerly in this place was shown a slab with the mark of a man's head—like St. Peter's at Rome—where the Prophet had rested. Now it seems to have disappeared, and the tooth has succeeded to its honour.

is a square stone, upon which Shaykh Hamid showed me the impression of a tooth *: he kissed it with peculiar reverence, and so did I. But the boy Mohammed being by me objurgated—for I remarked in him a jaunty demeanour combined with neglectfulness of ceremonies—saluted it sulkily, muttering the while hints about the holiness of his birthplace exempting him from the trouble of stooping. Already he had appeared at the Haram without his Jubbeh, and with ungirt loins,—in waistcoat and shirt sleeves. Moreover he had conducted himself indecorously by nudging Shaykh Hamid's sides during divine service. Feeling that the youth's "moral man" was, like his physical, under my charge, and determined to arrest a course of conduct which must have ended in obtaining for me, the master, the reputation of a "son of Belial," I insisted upon his joining us in the customary two prostration prayers. And Saad the Devil taking my side of the question with his usual alacrity when a disturbance was in prospect, the youth found it necessary to yield. After this little scene,

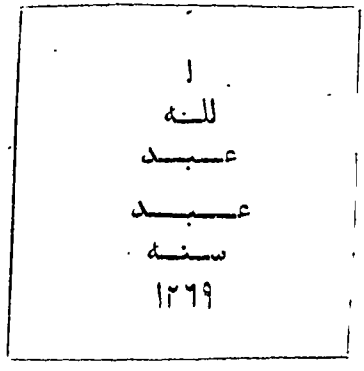
* Some historians say that four teeth were knocked out by his stone. This appears an exaggeration.

Shaykh Hamid pointed out a sprawling inscription blessing the companions of the Prophet. The unhappy Abubekr's name had been half effaced by some fanatic Shiah, a circumstance which seemed to arouse all the evil in my companion's nature, and looking close at the wall I found a line of Persian verse to this effect:

"I am weary of my life (Umr), because it bears the name of Umar." *

We English wanderers are beginning to be shamed out of our habit of scribbling names and nonsense in noted spots. Yet the practice is both classical and oriental. The Greeks and Persians left their marks every where, as Egypt shows, and the paws of the Sphinx bear scratches which, being interpreted, are found to be the same manner of trash as that written upon the remains of Thebes in A. D. 1853. And Easterns never appear to enter a building with a white wall without inditing upon it platitudes in verse and prose. Influenced by these considerations, I drew forth a pencil and inscribed in the Kubbat El Sanaya,

* In the Persian character the word Umr, life, and Umar, the name of the hated caliph, are written exactly in the same way; which explains the pun.




"Abdullah, the servant of Allah."
(A. H. 1269.)

Issuing from the dome we turned a few paces to the left, passed northwards, and thus blessed the martyrs of Ohod:

"Peace be with ye, O martyrs! Peace be with ye, O blessed; ye pious! ye pure! who fought upon Allah's path the good fight, who worshipped your Lord until He brought you to certainty.* Peace be with you of whom Allah said (viz. in the Koran) 'verily repute not them slain on God's path (*i. e.* warring with infidels); nay, rather they are alive, and there is no fear upon them, nor are they sorrowful!' Peace be with ye, O martyrs of Ohod! one and all, and the mercy of Allah and his blessings." (Here follows the Testification and the Fát-háh.)

* That is to say, "to the hour of death."

Then again we moved a few paces forward and went through a similar ceremony, supposing ourselves to be in the cave that sheltered the Prophet. After which, returning towards the torrent-bed by the way we came, we stood a small distance from a cupola called Kubbat El Masra. It resembles that of the "Front-teeth," and notes, as its name proves, the place where the gallant Hamzah fell by the spear of Wahshi the slave.*

* When Jubair bin Mutim was marching to Ohod, according to the Rauzet el Safa, in revenge for the death of his uncle Taimah, he offered manumission to his slave Wahshi, who was noted for the use of the Abyssinian spear, if he slew Hamzah. The slave sat in ambush behind a rock, and when the hero had despatched one Sibaa bin Abdel Ayiz, of Meccah, he threw a javelin which pierced his navel and came out at his back. The wounded man advanced towards his assassin, who escaped. Hamzah then fell, and his friends coming up, found him dead. Wahshi waited till he saw an opportunity, drew the javelin from the body, and mutilated it, in order to present trophies to the ferocious Hinda (mother of Muawiyah), whose father Utbah had been slain by Hamzah. The amazon insisted upon seeing the corpse: having presented her necklace and bracelets to Wahshi, she supplied their place with the nose, the ears, and other parts of the dead hero. After mangling the liver in a disgusting manner, she ended by tearing open the stomach and biting the liver, whence she was called "Akkalat el Akbad." When Mohammed saw the state of his father's brother, he was sadly moved. Presently comforted by the inspirations brought by Gabriel, he cried, "It is written

We faced towards it and finished the ceremonies of this Ziyarat by a supplication, the Testification, and the Fát-háh.

In the evening I went with my friends to the Haram. The minaret galleries were hung with lamps, and the inside of the temple was illuminated. It was crowded with Hajis, amongst whom were many women, a circumstance which struck me from its being unusual.* Some pious pilgrims,

among the people of the seven Heavens, Hamzát, son of Muttaleb, is the Lion of Allah, and the Lion of his Prophet," and ordered him to be shrouded and prayed over him, beginning says the Jazb el Kúlub, with seventy repetitions of "Allah Akbar." Ali had brought in his shield some water for Mohammed, from a Mahras or stone trough, which stood near the scene of action (M. C. de Perceval translates it "un creux de rocher formant un bassin naturel"). But the Prophet refused to drink it, and washed with it the blood from the face of him "martyred by the side of the Mahras." It was of the Moslems slain at Ohod, according to Abu Daud, the Prophet declared that their souls should be carried in the crops of green birds, that they might drink of the waters and taste the fruits of paradise, and nestle beneath the golden lamps that hang from the celestial ceiling. He also forbade, on this occasion, the still popular practice of mutilating an enemy's corpse.

* The Prophet preferred women and young boys to pray privately, and in some parts of El Islam they are not allowed to join a congregation. At El Medinah, however, it is no longer, as in Burckhardt's time, "thought very indecorous in women to enter the mosque."

who had duly paid for the privilege, were perched upon ladders trimming wax candles of vast dimensions, others were laying up for themselves rewards in paradise, by performing the same office to the lamps; many were going through the ceremonies of Ziyarat, and not a few were sitting in different parts of the mosque apparently overwhelmed with emotion. The boys and the beggars were inspired with fresh energy, the Aghawat were gruffer and surlier than I had ever seen them, and the young men about town walked and talked with a freer and an easier demeanour than usual. My old friends the Persians—there were about 1200 of them in the Hajj caravan—attracted my attention. The doorkeepers stopped them with curses as they were about to enter, and all claimed from each the sum of five piastres, whilst other Moslems are allowed to enter the mosque free. Unhappy men! they had lost all the Shiraz swagger, their mustachios drooped pitiably, their eyes would not look any one in the face, and not a head bore a cap stuck upon it crookedly. Whenever an "Ajemi," whatever might be his rank, stood in the way of an Arab or a Turk, he was rudely thrust aside, with abuse, muttered loud enough to be heard by all around. All eyes

followed them as they went through the ceremonies of Ziyarat, especially as they approached the tombs of Abubekr and Omar,—which every man is bound to defile if he can,—and the supposed place of Fatimah's burial. Here they stood in parties, after praying before the Prophet's window: one read from a book the pathetic tale of the Lady's life, sorrows, and mourning death, whilst the others listened to him with breathless attention. Sometimes their emotion was too strong to be repressed. "*Ay Fatimah! Ay Mazlumah! Way! way!*—O Fatimah! O thou injured one! Alas! alas!"—burst involuntarily from their lips, despite the danger of such exclamations, tears trickled down their hairy cheeks, and their brawny bosoms heaved with sobs. A strange sight it was to see rugged fellows, mountaineers perhaps, or the fierce Iliyat of the plains, sometimes weeping silently like children, sometimes shrieking like hysteric girls, and utterly careless to conceal a grief so coarse and grisly, at the same time so true and real, that we knew not how to behold it. Then the Satanic scowls with which they passed by or pretended to pray at the hated Omar's tomb! With what curses their hearts are belying those mouths full of blessings!

How they are internally canonising Fayruz *, and praying for his eternal happiness in the presence of the murdered man! Sticks and stones, however, and not unfrequently the knife and the sabre, have taught them the hard lesson of disciplining their feelings, and nothing but a furious contraction of the brow, a roll of the eye, intensely vicious, and a twitching of the muscles about the region of the mouth, denotes the wild storm of wrath within. They generally, too, manage to discharge some part of their passion in words. "Hail Omar thou hog!" exclaims some fanatic Madani as he passes by the heretic— a demand more outraging than requiring a red-hot, black-north Protestant to bless the Pope. "O Allah! *hell* him!" meekly responds the Persian, changing the benediction to a curse most intelligible to, and most delicious in his fellows' ears.†

I found an evening hour in the steamy heat of

* The Persian slave who stabbed Omar in the mosque.

† I have heard of a Persian being beaten to death, because instead of saying "peace be with thee, Ya Omar," he insisted upon saying "peace be with thee, Ya Humár (O ass!)" A favourite trick is to change Razi Allahu anhu—may Allah be satisfied with him!—to Razi Allahu An. This last word is not to be found in Richardson, but any "Luti" from Shiraz or Isfahan can make it intelligible to the curious linguist.

the Hâram, equal to half a dozen afternoons; and left it resolved not to visit it till the Hajj departed from El Medinah. It was only prudent not to see much of the Ajemis; and as I did so somewhat ostentatiously, my companions discovered that the Haj Abdullah, having slain many of those heretics in some war or other, was avoiding them to escape retaliation. In proof of my generalistic qualities, the rolling down of the water jar upon the heads of the Maghribi pilgrims in the "Golden Thread" was quoted, and all offered to fight for me *à l'outrance*. I took care not to contradict the report.

## CHAP. XXI.

### THE PEOPLE OF EL MEDINAH.

El Medinah contains but few families descended from the Prophet's Auxiliaries. I heard only of four whose genealogy is undoubted. These were,—

1. The Bait el Ansari, or descendants of Abu Ayyub, a most noble race whose tree ramifies through a space of 1500 years. They keep the keys of the Kuba mosque, and are Imams in the Haram, but the family is no longer wealthy or powerful.

2. The Bait Abu Jud: they supply the Haram with Imams and Muezzins.* I was told that there are now but two surviving members of this family, a boy and a girl.

3. The Bait el Shaab, a numerous race. Some of the members travel professionally, others trade, and others are employed in the Haram.

* Ibn Jubayr relates that in his day a descendant of Belal, the original Muezzin of the Prophet, practised his ancestral profession at El Medinah.

4. The Bait el Karrani, who are mostly engaged in commerce.

There is also a race called el Nakhawilah*, who, according to some, are descendants of the Ansar, whilst others derive them from Yezid, the son of Muawiyah: the latter opinion is improbable, as the Caliph in question was a mortal foe to Ali's family, which is inordinately venerated by these people. As far as I could ascertain, they abuse the Shaykhain †: all my informants agreed upon this point, but none could tell me why they

* This word is said to be the plural of Nakhwali, one who cultivates the date tree, a gardener or farmer. No one could tell me whether these heretics had not a peculiar name for themselves. I hazard a conjecture that they may be identical with the Mutawalli (also written Mutawilah, Mutaalis, Metoualis, &c. &c.), the hardy, courageous, and hospitable mountaineers of Syria, and Cœlosyria Proper. This race of sectarians, about 35,000 in number, holds to the Imamship or supreme pontificate of Ali and his descendants. They differ, however, in doctrine from the Persians, believing in a transmigration of the soul, which, gradually purified, is at last "orbed into a perfect star." They are scrupulous of caste, and will not allow a Jew or a Frank to touch a piece of their furniture: yet they erect guest-houses for infidels. In this they resemble the Shiehs, who are far more particular about ceremonial purity than the Sunnis. They use ablutions before each meal, and in this remind us of the Hindus.

† The "two Shaykhs" — Abubekr and Omar.

neglected not to bedevil Osman, the third object of hatred to the Shiah persuasion. They are numerous and warlike, yet they are despised by the townspeople, because they openly profess heresy and are moreover of humble degree. They have their own priests and instructors, although subject to the orthodox Kazi, marry in their own sect, are confined to low offices, such as slaughtering animals, sweeping, and gardening, and are not allowed to enter the Haram during life, or to be carried to it after death. Their corpses are taken down an outer street called the Darb el Jenazah—Road of Biers—to their own cemetery near El Bakia. They dress and speak Arabic, like the townspeople; but the Arabs pretend to distinguish them by a peculiar look denoting their degradation, —doubtless the mistake of effect for cause, made about all such

"Tribes of the wandering foot and weary breast."

A number of reports are current about the horrid customs of these people, and their community of women * with the Persian pilgrims who pass through the town. It need scarcely be said

* The communist principles of Mazdak the Persian (6th century) have given his nation a permanent bad fame in this particular among the Arabs.

that such tales coming from the mouths of fanatic foes are not to be credited. I regret not having had an opportunity to become intimate with any of the Nakhawilah, from whom curious information might be elicited. Orthodox Moslems do not like to be questioned about such hateful subjects; when I attempted to learn something from one of my acquaintance, Shaykh Ula el Din, of a Kurd family, settled at El Medinah, a man who had travelled over the East, and who spoke five languages to perfection, he coldly replied that he had never consorted with these heretics. Sayyids and Sherifs*, the descendants of the Prophet, here abound. The Beni Hosayn of El Medinah have their head-quarters at Suwayrkiyah †: the former place

* In Arabia the Sherif is the descendant of Hasan through his two sons, Zaid and Hasan el Musanna: the Sayyid is the descendant of Hosayn through Zayn el Abidin, the sole of twelve children who survived the fatal field of Kerbela. The former devotes himself to government and war, the latter, to learning and religion. In Persia and India, the sherif is the son of a Sayyid woman and a common Moslem. The Sayyid "Nejib el Taraf" (noble on one side) is the son of a Sayyid father and a common Moslemah. The Sayyid "Nejib el Tarafain" (noble on both sides) is one whose parents are both Sayyids.

† Burckhardt alludes to this settlement when he says "In the Eastern desert, at three or four days' journey from Medinah, lives a whole Bedouin tribe, called Beni Aly, who are all of this Persian creed." I travelled to Suwayrkiyah and found it inhab-

contains six or seven families, the latter ninety-three or ninety-four. Anciently they were much more numerous, and such was their power, that for centuries they retained charge of the Prophet's Tomb. They subsist principally upon their *Amlak*, property in land, for which they have title deeds extending back to Mohammed's day, and *Aukaf*, religious bequests; popular rumour accuses them of frequent murders for the sake of succession. At El Medinah they live chiefly at the Hosh ibn Saad, a settlement outside the town and south of the Darb el Jenazah. There is, however, no objection to their dwelling within the walls, and they are taken to the Haram after death, if there be no evil report against the individual. Their burial-place is the Bakia cemetery. The reason of this toleration is, that some are supposed to be Sunni, or orthodox, and even the most heretical keep their "Rafz"* a profound secret. Most learned Arabs believe that

ited by Beni Husayn. The Beni Ali are Bedouins settled at the Awali, near the Kuba mosque: they were originally slaves of the great house of Auf, and are still heretical in their opinions.

* "Refusing, rejecting." Hence the origin of Ráfizi, a rejector, a heretic. "Inna rafaznáhum," "verily we have rejected *them*," (Abubekr, Omar, and Osman,) exclaim the Persians, glorying in the opprobrious epithet.

they belong, like the Persians, to the sect of Ali; the truth, however, is so vaguely known, that I could find out none of the peculiarities of their faith, till I met a Shirazi friend at Bombay. The Beni Hosayn are spare dark men of Bedouin appearance, and they dress in the old Arab style still affected by the Sherifs,— a kufiyah on the head*, and a Benish, a long and wide-sleeved garment resembling our magicians' gown, thrown over the white cotton Kamis (shirt): in public they always carry swords, even when others leave weapons at home. There are about 200 families of Sayyid Alawiyah,—descendants of Ali by any of his wives but Fatimah,— they bear no distinctive mark in dress or appearance, and are either employed at the temple or engage in trade. Of the Khalifiyyah, or descendants of Abbas, there is, I am told, but one household, the Bait el Khalifah, who act as Imams in the Haram, and have charge of Hamzah's

* Sayyids in El Hejaz, as a general rule, do not denote their descent by the green turban. In fact, most of them wear a red Cashmire shawl round the head, when able to afford the luxury. The green turban is an innovation in El Islam. In some countries it is confined to the Sayyids. In others it is worn as a mark of distinction by pilgrims. Khudabakhsh, the Indian, at Cairo generally dressed in a tender green suit like a Mantis.

tomb. Some declare that there are a few of the Siddikiyah, or descendants from Abubekr; others ignored them, and none could give me any information about the Beni Najjar.

The rest of the population of El Medinah is a motley race composed of offshoots from every nation in El Islam. The sanctity of the city attracts strangers, who, purposing to stay but a short time, become residents: after finding some employment, they marry, have families, die, and are buried there, with an eye to the spiritual advantages of the place. I was much importuned to stay at El Medinah. The only known physician was one Shaykh Abdullah Sahib, an Indian, a learned man, but of so melancholic a temperament, and so ascetic in his habits, that his knowledge was entirely lost to the public. "Why dost thou not," said my friends, "have a shop somewhere near the Prophet's mosque? There thou wilt eat bread by thy skill, and thy soul will have the blessing of being on holy ground." Shaykh Nur also opined after a short residence at El Medinah that it was "bara jannati Shahr," a "very heavenly city," and little would have induced him to make it his home. The present ruling race at El Medinah, in consequence of political vicissitudes, are the

"Sufat*," sons of Turkish fathers by Arab mothers. These half-castes are now numerous, and have managed to secure the highest and most lucrative offices. Besides Turks, there are families originally from the Maghrib, Takruris, Egyptians in considerable numbers, settlers from Yemen and other parts of Arabia, Syrians, Kurds, Afghans, Daghistani from the Caucasus, and a few Jawi — Java Moslems. The Sindhians, I was told, reckon about 100 families, who are exceedingly despised for their cowardice and want of manliness, whilst the Beloch and the Afghan are respected. The Indians are not so numerous in proportion here as at Meccah; still Hindostani is by no means uncommonly heard in the streets. They preserve their peculiar costume, the women persisting in showing their faces, and in wearing tight, exceedingly tight, pantaloons. This, together with other reasons, secures for them the contempt of the Arabs. At El Medinah they are generally small shopkeepers, especially druggists and sellers of Kumash (cloths), and form a society of their own. The terrible cases of misery and starvation which so commonly occur among the

* Plural of Suftah — a half-caste Turk.

improvident Indians at Jeddah and Meccah are here rare.

The Hanafi school holds the first rank at El Medinah, as in most parts of El Islam, although many of the citizens, and almost all the Bedouins, are Shafeis. The reader will have remarked with astonishment that at one of the fountain-heads of the faith, there are several races of schismatics, the Beni Hosayn, the Beni Ali, and the Nakhawilah. At the town of Safra there are said to be a number of the Zuyud *, who visit El Medinah, and have settled in force at Meccah, and some declare that Bayazi † also exist.

The citizens of El Medinah are a favoured race, although their city is not, like Meccah, the grand mart of the Moslem world or the meeting-place of nations. They pay no taxes, and reject the idea of a "Miri," or land-cess, with extreme disdain. "Are we, the children of the Prophet," they exclaim, "to support or to be supported?" The Wahhabis, not understanding the argument, taxed

* Plural of Zaydi. These are well known schismatics of the Shiah persuasion, who abound in Southern Arabia.

† The Bayazi sect flourishes near Muscat, whose Imam or Prince, it is said, belongs to the heretical persuasion. It rejects Osman, and advocates the superiority of Omar over the other two caliphs.

them, as was their wont, in specie and in materials, for which reason the very name of the Puritans is an abomination. As has before been shown, all the numerous attendants at the mosque are paid partly by the Sultan, partly by aukaf, the rents of houses and lands bequeathed to the shrine, and scattered over every part of the Moslem world. When a Madani is inclined to travel, he applies to the Mudir el Haram, and receives from him a paper which entitles him to the receipt of a considerable sum at Constantinople. The "Ikram" (*honorarium*), as it is called, varies with the rank of the recipient, the citizens being divided into these four orders: —

1st and highest: the Sádát * and Imams, who are entitled to 12 purses, or about 60*l*. Of these there are said to be 300 families.

2nd. The Khanahdan, who keep open house and receive poor strangers gratis. Their Ikram amounts to 8 purses, and they number from 100 to 150 families.

3rd. The Ahali † or Madani, properly speaking,

* Sádát is the plural of Sayyid. This word in the northern Hejaz is applied indifferently to the posterity of Hasan and Hosayn.

† The plural of Ahl, an inhabitant (of a particular place).

who have homes and families, and were born in El Medinah. They claim 6 purses.

4th. The Mujawirin, strangers, as Egyptians or Indians settled at, though not born in, El Medinah. Their *honorarium* is 4 purses.

The Madani traveller, on arrival at Constantinople, reports his arrival to his consul, the Wakil el Haramain. This "Agent of the two Holy Places" applies to the Nazir el Aukaf, or "Intendant of Bequests;" the latter, after transmitting the demand to the different officers of the treasury, sends the money to the Wakil, who delivers it to the applicant. This gift is sometimes squandered in pleasure, more often invested profitably either in merchandise or in articles of home-use, presents of dress and jewellery for the women, handsome arms, especially pistols and *balas* *, silk tassels, amber pipe-pieces, slippers, and embroidered purses. They are packed up in one or two large sahha-

The reader will excuse my troubling him with these terms. As they are almost all local in their application, and therefore are not explained in such restricted sense by lexicographers, the specification may not be useless to the Oriental student.

* The Turkish "yataghan." It is a long dagger, intended for thrusting rather than cutting, and has a curve, which, methinks, has been wisely copied in the bayonet of the Chasseurs de Vincennes.

rahs (chests), and then commences the labour of returning home gratis. I have already described the extent of mental agitation caused during the journey by these precious convoys. Besides the Ikram, most of the Madani, when upon these begging trips, are received as guests by great men at Constantinople. The citizens whose turn it is not to travel, await the Aukaf and Sadakat *, forwarded every year by the Damascus caravan; besides which, as has been before explained, the Haram supplies even those not officially employed in it with many perquisites.

Without these advantages El Medinah would soon be abandoned to cultivators and Bedouins. Though commerce is here honourable, as everywhere in the East, business is "slack†," because the higher classes prefer the idleness of administering their landed estates, and being servants to the mosque. I heard of only four respectable houses, El Isawi, El Shaab, Abdel Jawwad, and a family from El Shark.‡ They all deal in grain, cloth,

* See Chapter XVII.

† Omar Effendi's brothers, grandsons of the principal mufti of El Medinah, were both shopkeepers, and were always exhorting him to do some useful work, rather than muddle his brains and waste his time on books.

‡ See Chapter XIV.

and provisions, and perhaps the richest have a capital of 20,000 dollars. Caravans in the cold weather are constantly passing between El Medinah and Egypt, but they are rather bodies of visitors to Constantinople than traders travelling for gain. Corn is brought from Jeddah by land, and imported into Yambu or El Rais, a port on the Red Sea, one day and a half's journey from Safra. There is an active provision trade with the neighbouring Bedouins, and the Syrian Hajj supplies the citizens with apparel and articles of luxury — tobacco, dried fruits, sweetmeats, knives, and all that is included under the word "notions." There are few store-keepers, and their dealings are petty, because articles of every kind are brought from Egypt, Syria, and Constantinople. As a general rule, labour is exceedingly expensive *, and at the visitation time a man will demand fifteen or twenty piastres from a stranger for such a trifling job as mending an umbrella. Handi-

* To a townsman, even during the dead season, the pay of a gardener would be 2 piastres, a carpenter 8 piastres per diem, and a common servant (a bawwab or porter, for instance), 25 piastres per mensem, or 3*l.* per annum, besides board and dress. Considering the value of money in the country, these are very high rates.

craftsmen and artisans — carpenters, masons, locksmiths, potters and others, are either slaves or foreigners, mostly Egyptians.* This proceeds partly from the pride of the people. They are taught from their childhood that the Madani is a favoured being, to be respected however vile or schismatic, and that the vengeance of Allah will fall upon any one who ventures to abuse, much more to strike him.† They receive a stranger at the shop window with the haughtiness of Pachas, and take pains to show him by words as well as by looks, that they consider themselves as "good gentlemen as princes, only not so rich." Added to this pride are indolence, and the true Arab prejudice, which, even in the present day, prevents a Bedouin from marrying the daughter of an artisan. Like Castilians they consider labour humiliating to any but a slave; nor is this, as a clever French author remarks, by any means an unreasonable idea, since Heaven, to punish man for disobedi-

* Who alone sell milk, curds, or butter. The reason of their monopoly has been given in Chapter XIII.

† History informs us that the sanctity of their birth-place has not always preserved the people of El Medinah. But the memory of their misfortunes is soon washed away by the overwhelming pride of the race.

ence, caused him to eat daily bread by the sweat of his brow. Besides, there *is* degradation, moral and physical, in handiwork compared with the freedom of the desert. The loom and the file do not conserve courtesy and chivalry like the sword and spear; man extending his tongue, to use an Arab phrase, when a cuff and not a stab is to be the consequence of an injurious expression. Even the ruffian becomes polite in California, where his brother-ruffian carries a revolver, and those European nations who were most polished when every gentleman wore a rapier have become the rudest since Civilisation disarmed them.

By the tariff quoted below it will be evident that El Medinah is not a cheap place.* Yet the

* The market is under the charge of an Arab Muhtasib or Bazar-master, who again is subject to the Muhafiz or Pacha governing the place. The following is the current price of provisions at El Medinah early in August, 1853: during the visitation season everything is doubled.

1 lb. mutton, 2 piastres, (beef is half price, but seldom eaten; there is no buffalo meat, and only Bedouins will touch the camel).

A fowl, 5 piastres.

Eggs, in summer 8, in winter 4, for the piastre.

1 lb. clarified butter, 4 piastres, (when cheap it falls to 2½. Butter is made at home by those who eat it, and sometimes by the Egyptians for sale).

citizens, despite their being generally in debt, manage to live well. Their cookery, like that of

1 lb. milk, 1 piastre.
1 lb. cheese, 2 piastres, (when cheap it is 1, when dear 3 piastres per lb.)
Wheaten loaf weighing 12 dirhams, 10 paras. (There are loaves of 24 dirhams, costing ½ piastre.)
1 lb. dry biscuits, (imported), 3 piastres.
1 lb. of vegetables, ½ piastre.
1 Mudd dates, varies according to quality from 4 piastres to 100.
1 lb. grapes, 1½ piastre.
A lime, 1 para.
A pomegranate, from 20 paras to 1 piastre.
A water-melon, from 3 to 6 piastres each.
1 lb. peaches, 2 piastres.
1 lb. coffee, 4 piastres, (the Yemani is the only kind drunk here).
1 lb. tea, 15 piastres, (black tea, imported from India).
1 lb. European loaf-sugar, 6 piastres, (white Egyptian, 5 piastres; brown Egyptian 3 piastres; brown Indian for cooking and conserves, 3 piastres).
1 lb. spermaceti candles, 7 piastres, (called wax, and imported from Egypt).
1 lb. tallow candles, 3 piastres.
1 Ardebb wheat, 295 piastres.
1 Ardebb onions, 33 piastres, (when cheap 20, when dear 40).
1 Ardebb barley, 120 piastres, (minimum 90, maximum 180).
1 Ardebb rice, Indian, 302 piastres, (it varies from 260 to 350 piastres, according to quality).
Durrah or maize is generally given to animals, and is very cheap.

Meccah, has borrowed something from Egypt, Turkey, Syria, Persia, and India; like all Orientals they are exceedingly fond of clarified butter.* I have seen the boy Mohammed drink off nearly a tumbler full, although his friends warned him that it would make him as fat as an elephant. When a man cannot enjoy clarified butter in these countries, it is considered a sign that his stomach is out of

Barsim (clover, a bundle of) 3 Wakkiyahs, (36 Dirhams), costs 1 para.

Adas or Lentil is the same price as rice.

1 lb. Latakia tobacco, 16 piastres.

1 lb. Syrian tobacco, 8 piastres.

1 lb. Tumbak, (Persian), 6 piastres.

1 lb. olive oil, 6 piastres, (when cheap it is 4).

A skin of water, ½ piastre.

Bag of charcoal, containing 100 Wukkah, 10 piastres. The best kind is made from an acacia called "Samur."

The para (Turkish), fazzah (Egyptian), or diwani (Hejazi word), is the 40th part of a piastre, or nearly the quarter of a farthing. The piastre is about $2\frac{2}{3}$ pence. Throughout El Hejaz there is no want of small change, as in Egypt, where the deficiency calls for the attention of the government.

* Physiologists have remarked that fat and greasy food, containing a quantity of carbon, is peculiar to cold countries, whereas the inhabitants of the tropics delight in fruits, vegetables, and articles of diet which do not increase caloric. This must be taken *cum grano*. In Italy, Spain, and Greece, the general use of olive oil begins. In Africa and Asia, especially in the hottest parts, the people habitually eat enough clarified butter to satisfy an Esquimaux.

order, and all my excuses of a melancholic temperament were required to be in full play to prevent the infliction of fried meat swimming in grease, or that guest-dish *, rice saturated with melted — perhaps I should say —rancid butter. The "Samn" of El Hejaz, however, is often fresh, being brought in by the Bedouins; it has not therefore the foul flavour derived from the old and impregnated skin-bag which distinguishes the ghee of India.† The house of a Madani in good circumstances is comfortable, for the building is substantial, and the attendance respectable. Black slave-girls here perform the complicated duties of servant-maids in England; they are taught to sew, to cook, and to wash, besides sweeping the house and drawing water for domestic use. Hasinah (the "Charmer," a decided misnomer) costs from 40 to 50 dollars: if she be a mother, her value is less, but neat-handedness, propriety of demeanour, and skill in feminine accomplishments, raise her to 100 dollars,

* In Persia, you jocosely say to man, when he is threatened with a sudden inroad of guests, "Go and swamp the rice with Raughan (clarified butter)."

† Among the Indians, gheé, placed in pots carefully stopped up and kept for years till a hard black mass only remains, is considered almost a panacea for diseases and wounds.

25*l.* A little black boy, perfect in all his points, and tolerably intelligent, costs about 1000 piastres; girls are dearer, and eunuchs fetch double that sum. The older the children become, the more their value diminishes, and no one would purchase, save under exceptional circumstances, an adult slave, because he is never parted with but for some incurable vice. The Abyssinian, mostly Galla, girls, so much prized because their skins are always cool in the hottest weather, are here rare; they seldom sell for less than 20*l.*, and often fetch 60*l.* I never heard of a Jariyah Bayza, a white slave girl, being in the market at El Medinah: in Circassia they fetch from 100*l.* to 400*l.* prime cost; and few men in El Hejaz could afford so expensive a luxury. The bazaar at El Medinah is poor, and, as almost all the slaves are brought from Meccah by the Jallabs, or drivers, after exporting the best to Egypt, the town receives only the refuse.*

* Some of these slaves come from Abyssinia: the greater part are driven from the Galla country, and exported at the harbours of the Somauli coast, Berberah, Tajurrah, and Zayla. As many as 2000 slaves from the former place, and 4000 from the latter, are annually shipped off to Mocha, Jeddah, Suez, and Muscat. It is strange that the Imam of the latter place should voluntarily have made a treaty with us for the suppression of this vile trade, and yet should allow so extensive an importation to his dominions.

The personal appearance of the Madani makes the stranger wonder how this mongrel population of settlers has acquired a peculiar and almost an Arab physiognomy. They are remarkably fair, the effect of a cold climate; sometimes the cheeks are lighted up with red, and the hair is a dark chestnut — at El Medinah I was not stared at as a white man. The cheeks and different parts of the children's bodies are sometimes marked with Mashali or Tashrih, not the three long stripes of the Meccans *, but little scars generally in threes. In some points they approach the true Arab type, that is to say, the Bedouins of ancient and noble family. The cheek-bones are high and *saillant*, the eye small, more round than long, piercing, fiery, deep-set, and brown rather than black. The head is small, the ears well-cut, the face long and oval, though not unfrequently disfigured by what is popularly called the "lantern-jaw;" the forehead high, bony, broad and slightly retreating, and the beard and mustachios scanty, consisting of two tufts upon the chin, with, generally speaking, little or no whisker. These are the points of resemblance between the city and

* More will be said concerning the origin of this strange custom, when speaking of Meccah and the Meccans.

the country Arab. The difference is equally remarkable. The temperament of the Madani is not purely nervous, like that of the Bedouins, but admits a large admixture of the bilious and, though rarely, the lymphatic. The cheeks are fuller, the jaws project more than in the pure race, the lips are more fleshy, more sensual and ill-fitting, the features are broader, and the limbs are stouter and more bony. The beard is a little thicker, and the young Arabs of the towns are beginning to imitate the Turks in that abomination to their ancestors — shaving. Personal vanity, always a ruling passion among Orientals, and a hopeless wish to emulate the flowing beards of the Turks and the Persians, — the only nations in the world who ought not to shave the chin — have overruled even the religious objections to such innovation. I was more frequently appealed to at El Medinah than any where else, for some means of removing the opprobrium "Kusah."* They dye the beard with gall nuts, henna, and other preparations.† Much refinement

* A "scant-bearded man."

† They use the Egyptian mixture, composed of sulphate of iron one part, ammoniure of iron one part, gall nuts two parts, infused in eight parts of distilled water. It is a very bad dye.

of dress is now found at El Medinah, Constantinople, the Paris of the East, supplying it with the newest fashions. Respectable men wear either a Benish or a Jubbah; the latter, as at Meccah, is generally of some light and flashy colour, gamboge, yellow, tender green, or bright pink.* The proper Badan, or long coat without sleeves, still worn in truly Arab countries, is here confined to the lowest classes. That ugliest of head-dresses, the red Tunisian cap, called "Tarbush," † is much used, only the Arabs have too great regard for their eyes and faces to wear it, as the Turks do, without a turban. It is with regret that one sees the most graceful head-gear imaginable, the Kufiyah and the Aakal, proscribed except amongst the Sherifs and the Bedouins. The women dress, like the men, handsomely. In-doors they wear, I am told, a Suday-

* This is the sign of a "dressy" man in other countries. If you have a single coat, it should be of some modest colour, as a dark violet; to appear always in the same tender green, or bright pink, would excite derision. But the Hejazis, poor and rich, always prefer these tulip tints.

† The word Tarbush is a corruption from the Persian Sarpush, "head-covering," "head-dress." The Anglo-Saxon further debases it to "Tarbrush." The other name for the Tarbush, "Fez," denotes the place where the best were made. Some Egyptians distinguish between the two, calling the large high crimson cap "Fez," the small one "Tarbush."

riyah, or boddice of calico and other stuffs, like the Choli of India, which supports the bosom without the evils of European stays. Over this is a Saub, or wide shirt, of the white stuff called Halaili or Burunjuk, with enormous sleeves, and flowing down to the feet: the Sarwal or pantaloons are not wide, like the Egyptians, but rather tight, approaching to the Indian cut, without its exaggeration.* Abroad, they throw over the head a silk or a cotton Milayah, generally chequered white and blue. The Burka, all over El Hejaz, is white, a decided improvement in point of cleanliness upon that of Egypt. Women of all ranks dye the soles of the feet and the palms of the hands black, and trace thin lines down the inside of the fingers, by first applying a plaster of henna and then a mixture, called "Shadar," of gall nuts, alum, and lime. The hair, parted in the centre, is plaited into about twenty little twists called Jadilah.† Of ornaments as usual among Orientals, they have a vast variety,

* In India, as in Sindh, a lady of fashion will sometimes be occupied a quarter of an hour in persuading her "bloomers" to pass over the region of the ancle.

† In the plural called Jedail. It is a most becoming headdress when the hair is thick, and when—which I regret to say is rare in Arabia—the twists are undone for ablution once a day.

ranging from brass and spangles to gold and precious stones; and they delight in strong perfumes, — musk, civet, ambergris, ottar of rose, oil of jasmine, aloe-wood, and extract of cinnamon. Both sexes wear Constantinople slippers. The women draw on Khuff, inner slippers, of bright yellow leather, serving for socks, and covering the ancle, with papooshes of the same material, sometimes lined with velvet and embroidered with a gold sprig under the hollow of the foot. In mourning the men show no difference of dress, like good Moslems, to whom such display of grief is forbidden. But the women, who cannot dissociate the heart and the toilette, evince their sorrow by wearing white clothes and by doffing their ornaments. This is a modern custom: the accurate Burckhardt informs us that in his day the women of El Medinah did not wear mourning.

The Madani generally appear abroad on foot. Few animals are kept here, on account, I suppose, of the expense of feeding them. The Cavalry are mounted on poor Egyptian nags. The horses ridden by rich men are generally Nejdi, costing from 200 to 300 dollars. Camels are numerous, but those bred in El Hejaz are small, weak, and consequently little prized. Dromedaries of good

breed, called Ahrar*, and Namani from the place of that name, are to be had for any sum between 10 and 400 dollars; they are diminutive but exceedingly swift, sure-footed, sagacious, thoroughbred, with eyes like the antelope, and muzzles that would almost enter a tumbler. Mules are not found at El Medinah, although popular prejudice does not now forbid the people to mount them. Asses come from Egypt and Meccah: I am told that some good ones are to be found in the town, and that certain ignoble Bedouin clans have a fine breed, but I never saw any.†

The manners of the Madani are graver and somewhat more pompous than those of any Arabs

* Plural of "Hurrah," the free, the noble.

† Of beasts intended for food, the sheep is the only common one in this part of El Hejaz. There are three distinct breeds. The larger animal comes from Nijd and the Anizeh Bedouins, who drive a flourishing trade; the smaller is a native of the country. Both are the common Arab sheep, of a tawny colour, with a long fat tail. Occasionally one meets with what at Aden is called the Berbera sheep, a totally different animal, — white, with a black broad face, a dew-lap, and a short fat tail, that looks as if twisted up into a knot. Cows are rare at El Medinah. Beef throughout the East is considered an unwholesome food, and the Bedouins will not drink cow's milk, preferring that of the camel, the ewe, and the goat. The flesh of the latter animal is scarcely ever eaten in the city, except by the poorest classes.

with whom I ever mixed. This they appear to have borrowed from their rulers, the Turks. But their austerity and ceremoniousness are skin deep. In intimacy or in anger the garb of politeness is thrown off, and the screaming Arab voice, the voluble, copious, and emphatic abuse, and the mania for gesticulation, return in all their deformity. They are great talkers, as the following little trait shows. When a man is opposed to more than his match in disputing or bargaining, instead of patiently saying to himself *s'il crache il est mort*, he interrupts the adversary with a "Sall' ala Mohammed,"—bless the Prophet. Every good Moslem is obliged to obey such requisition by responding, "Allahumma salli alayh,"—O Allah bless him! But the Madani curtails the phrase to "A'n," supposing it to be an equivalent, and proceeds in his loquacity. Then perhaps the baffled opponent will shout out "Wahhid," *i.e.* "Attest the unity of the Deity;" when, instead of employing the usual religious phrases to assert that dogma, he will briefly ejaculate "Al," and hurry on with the course of conversation. As it may be supposed, these wars of words frequently end in violent quarrels. For, to do the Madani justice, they are always ready to fight. The desperate

old feud between the "Juwwa" and the "Barra" —the town and the suburbs—has been put down with the greatest difficulty. The boys, indeed, still keep it up, turning out in bodies and making determined onslaughts with sticks and stones.*

It is not to be believed that in a town garrisoned by Turkish troops, full of travelled traders, and which supports itself by plundering Hajis, the primitive virtues of the Arab could exist. The Meccans, a dark people, say of the Madani that their hearts are black as their skins are white.† This is of course exaggerated; but it is not too

* This appears to be, and to have been, a favourite weapon with the Arabs. At the battle of Ohod, we read that the combatants amused themselves with throwing stones. On our road to Meccah, the Bedouins attacked a party of city Arabs, and the fight was determined with these harmless weapons. At Meccah, the men, as well as the boys, use them with as much skill as the Somalis at Aden.

As regards these feuds between different quarters of the Arab towns, the reader will bear in mind that such things can co-exist with considerable amount of civilisation. In my time, the different villages in the Sorrentine plain were always at war. The Irish still fight in bodies at Birkenhead. And in the days of our fathers, the *gamins* of London amused themselves every Sunday by pitched battles on Primrose-Hill, and the fields about Mary-le-bone and St. Pancras.

† Alluding especially to their revengefulness, and their habit of storing up an injury, and of forgetting old friendships or benefits, when a trivial cause of quarrel arises.

much to assert that pride, pugnacity, a peculiar point of honour, and a vindictiveness of wonderful force and patience, are the only characteristic traits of Arab character which the citizens of El Medinah habitually display. Here you meet with scant remains of the chivalry of the desert. A man will abuse his guest, even though he will not dine without him, and would protect him bravely against an enemy. And words often pass lightly between individuals which suffice to cause a blood feud amongst Bedouins. The outward appearance of decorum is conspicuous amongst the Madani. There are no places where Corinthians dwell, as at Meccah, Cairo, and Jeddah. Adultery, if detected, would be punished by lapidation according to the rigour of the Koranic law*, and simple immorality by religious stripes, or, if of repeated occurrence, by expulsion from the city. But scandals seldom occur, and the women, I am told, behave with great decency.† Abroad, they

* The sentence is passed by the Kazi: in cases of murder, he tries the criminal, and, after finding him guilty, sends him to the Pacha, who orders a Kawwas or policeman to strike off his head with a sword. Thieves are punished by mutilation of the hand. In fact, justice at El Medinah is administered in perfect conformity with the Shariat or Holy Law.

† "Circumcisio utriusque sexus apud Arabos mos est vetus-

have the usual Moslem pleasures of marriage, lyings-in, circumcision feasts, holy visitations, and funerals. At home, they employ themselves with domestic matters, and especially in scolding "Hasinah" and "Zaaferan." In this occupation they surpass even the notable English house-

tissimus. Aiunt theologi mutilationis hujus religiosæ inventricem esse Saram, Abrahami uxorem quæ, zelotypiâ incitata, Hagaris amorem minuendi gratiâ, somnientis puellæ clitoridem exstirpavit. Deinde, Allaho jubente, Sara et Abrahamus ambo pudendorum partem cultello abscissêre. Causa autem moris in viro mundities salusque, in puellâ impudicitiæ prophylactica esse videntur. Gentes Asiaticæ sinistrâ tantum manu abluentes utuntur; omnes quoque feminarum decies magis quam virorum libidinem æstimant. (*Clitoridem amputant, quia, ut monet Aristoteles, pars illa sedes est et scaturigo veneris* — *rem plane profanam cum Sonninio exclamemus!*) Nec excogitare potuit philosophus quanti et quam portentosi sunt talis mutilationis effectus. Mulierum minuuntur affectus, amor, voluptas. Crescunt tamen feminini doli, crudelitas, vitia et insatiabilis luxuria. (*Ita in Eunuchis nonnunquam, teste Abelardo, superstat cerebelli potestas, quum cupidinis satiandi facultas plane discessit.*) Virilis quoque circumcisio lentam venerem et difficilem efficit. Glandis enim mollities frictione induratur, dehinc coitus tristis, tardus parumque vehemens. Forsitan in quibusdam populis localis quoque causa existit; caruncula immoderate crescente, amputationis necessitas exurgit. Deinde apud Somalos, gentem Africanam, excisio nympharum abscissioni clitoridis adjungitur.

"Feminina circumcisio in Kahira Egyptiana et El Hejazio mos est universalis. Gens Bedouina uxorem salvam ducere nolit." — Shaykh el Nawawi "de Uxore ducenda," &c. &c.

keeper of the middle orders of society—the latter being confined to "knagging at" her slave, whereas the Arab lady is allowed an unbounded extent of vocabulary. At Shaykh Hamid's house, however, I cannot accuse the women of

> "Swearing into strong shudders
> The immortal gods who heard them."

They abused the black girls with unction, but without any violent expletives. At Meccah, however, the old lady in whose house I was living would, when excited by the melancholy temperament of her eldest son and his irregular hours of eating, scold him in the grossest terms not unfrequently ridiculous in the extreme. For instance, one of her assertions was that he—the son—was the offspring of an immoral mother; which assertion, one might suppose, reflected not indirectly upon herself. So in Egypt I have frequently heard a father, when reproving his boy, address him by "O dog, son of a dog!" and "O spawn of an infidel — of a Jew — of a Christian." Amongst the men of El Medinah I remarked a considerable share of hypocrisy. Their mouths were as full of religious salutations, exclamations, and hacknied quotations from the Koran as of indecency

and vile abuse, — a point in which they resemble the Persians. As before observed, they preserve their reputation as the sons of a holy city by praying only in public. At Constantinople they are by no means remarkable for sobriety. Intoxicating liquors, especially araki, are made in El Medinah only by the Turks: the citizens seldom indulge in this way at home, as detection by smell is imminent among a people of water-bibbers. During the whole time of my stay I had to content myself with a single bottle of cognac, coloured and scented to resemble medicine. The Madani are, like the Meccans, a curious mixture of generosity and meanness, of profuseness and penuriousness. But the former quality is the result of ostentation, the latter a characteristic of the Semitic race, long ago made familiar to Europe by the Jew. The citizens will run deeply in debt, expecting a good season of devotees to pay off their liabilities, or relying upon the next begging trip to Turkey; and such a proceeding, contrary to the custom of the Moslem world, is not condemned by public opinion. Above all their qualities, personal conceit is remarkable: they show it in their strut, in their looks, and almost in every word. "I am such a one, the son of such a one," is a common

expletive, especially in times of danger; and this spirit is not wholly to be condemned, as it certainly acts as an incentive to gallant actions. But it often excites them to vie with one another in expensive entertainments and similar vanities. The expression, so offensive to English ears, "*Insh-allah Bukra*"—please God, to-morrow—always said about what should be done to-day, is here as commonly heard as in Egypt or in India. This procrastination belongs more or less to all Orientals. But Arabia especially abounds in the "*Tawakkal al' Allah, ya Shaykh!*"—place thy reliance upon Allah, O Shaykh!—enjoined when a man should rely, under Providence, upon his own efforts. Upon the whole, though alive to the infirmities of the Madani character, I thought favourably of it, finding among this people more of the redeeming point, manliness, than in most Eastern nations with whom I am acquainted.

The Arabs, like the Egyptians, all marry. Yet, as usual, they are hard and facetious upon that ill-treated subject—matrimony. It has exercised not a little the brain of their wits and sages, who have not failed to indite notable things concerning it. Saith "Harikar el Hakim" (Dominie do-all) to his nephew Nadan (Sir Witless), whom he would

dissuade from taking to himself a wife, "Marriage is joy for a month and sorrow for a life, and the paying of settlements and the breaking of back (*i. e.* under the load of misery), and the listening to a woman's tongue!" And again, we have in verse: —

> "They said 'marry!' I replied, 'far be it from me
> To take to my bosom a sackful of snakes.
> I am free — why then become a slave?
> May Allah never bless womankind!'"

And the following lines are generally quoted, as affording a kind of bird's-eye view of female existence: —

> "From 10 (years of age) unto 20,
> A repose to the eyes of beholders.*
> From 20 unto 30,
> Still fair and full of flesh.
> From 30 unto 40,
> A mother of many boys and girls.
> From 40 unto 50,
> An old woman of the deceitful.
> From 50 unto 60,
> Slay her with a knife.
> From 60 unto 70,
> The curse of Allah upon them, one and all!"

Another popular couplet makes a most unsupported assertion: —

* A phrase corresponding with our "*beauté du diable.*"

"They declare womankind to be heaven to man,
I say, 'Allah give me Jehannum, and not this heaven."'

Yet the fair sex has the laugh on its side, for these railers, at El Medinah as in other places, invariably marry. The ceremony is tedious and expensive. It begins with a Khitbah or betrothal: the father of the young man repairs to the parent or guardian of the marriageable girl, and at the end of his visit exclaims, "The Fát-háh! we beg of your kindness your daughter for our son." Should the other be favourable to the proposal, his reply is, "Welcome and congratulation to you: but we must perform Istikharah;"* and when consent is given, both pledge themselves to the agreement by reciting the Fát-háh. Then commence negotiations about the Mahr or sum settled upon the bride †; and after the smoothing of this difficulty follow feastings of friends and relatives,

* This means consulting the will of the Deity, by praying for a dream in sleep, by the rosary, by opening the Koran, and other such devices, which bear blame if a negative be deemed necessary. It is a custom throughout the Moslem world, a relic, doubtless, of the Azlam or Kidah (seven divining-arrows) of the Pagan times. At El Medinah it is generally called Khirah.

† Among respectable citizens 400 dollars would be considered a fair average sum; the expense of the ceremony would be about half. This amount of ready money (150*l.*) not being always procurable, many of the Madani marry late in life.

male and female. The marriage itself is called Akd el Nikah or Ziwaj. A Walimah or banquet is prepared by the father of the Aris* at his own house, and the Kazi attends to perform the nuptial ceremony, the girl's consent being obtained through her Wakil, any male relation whom she commissions to act for her. Then, with great pomp and circumstance, the Aris visits his Arusah at her father's house; and finally, with a Zuffah or procession and sundry ceremonies at the Haram, the bride is brought to her new home.

Arab funerals are as simple as their marriages are complicated. Neither Naddabah (myriologist or hired keener), nor indeed any female, even a relation, is present at burials as in other parts of the Moslem world †, and it is esteemed disgraceful for a man to weep aloud. The Prophet, who doubtless had heard of those pagan mournings, where an effeminate and unlimited display of woe was often terminated by licentious excesses, like our half-heathen "wakes," forbad aught beyond a decent demonstration of grief. And his strong

* El Aris is the bridegroom, El Arusah the bride.

† Boys are allowed to be present, but they are not permitted to cry. Of their so misdemeaning themselves there is little danger; the Arab in these matters is a man from his cradle.

good sense enabled him to see the folly of professional mourners. At El Medinah the corpse is interred shortly after decease. The bier is carried through the streets at a moderate pace, by the friends and the relatives*, these bringing up the rear. Every man who passes lends his shoulder for a minute, a mark of respect to the dead, and also considered a pious and a prayerful act. Arrived at the Haram, they carry the corpse in visitation to the Prophet's window, and pray over it at Osman's niche. Finally, it is interred after the usual Moslem fashion in the cemetery El Bakia.

El Medinah, though pillaged by the Wahhabis, still abounds in books. Near the Haram are two Madrasah or colleges—the Mahmudiyah, so called from Sultan Mahmud, and that of Bashir Agha: both have large stores of theological and other works. I also heard of extensive private collections, particularly of one belonging to the Nejib El Ashraf, or chief of the Sayyids, a certain Mohammed Jemal el Lail, whose father is well known in India. Besides which, there is a large wakf or bequest of books presented to

* They are called the Asdikah, in the singular Sadik.

the mosque or entailed upon particular families.* The celebrated Mohammed Ibn Abdillah El Sannusi † has removed his collection, amounting it is said to 8000 volumes, from El Medinah to his house in Jebel Kubays at Meccah. The burial-place of the Prophet no longer lies open to the charge of utter ignorance brought against it by my predecessor.‡ The people now praise their Ulema for learning, and boast a superiority in respect of science over Meccah. Yet many

* From what I saw at El Medinah, the people are not so unprejudiced in this point as the Cairenes, who think little of selling a book in Wakf. The subject of Wakf, however, is an extensive one, and does not wholly exclude the legality of sale.

† This Shaykh is a Maliki Moslem from Algiers, celebrated as an Alim (sage), especially in the mystic study El Jafr. He is a Wali or saint; but opinions differ as regards his kiramat (saint's miracles): some disciples look upon him as the Mahdi (the forerunner of the Prophet), others consider him a clever impostor. His peculiar dogma is the superiority of live over dead saints, whose tombs are therefore not to be visited — a new doctrine in a Maliki! Abbas Pacha loved and respected him, and, as he refused all presents, built him a new Zawiyah (oratory) at Bulak: and when the Egyptian ruler's mother was at El Medinah, she called upon him three times, it is said, before he would receive her. His followers and disciples are scattered in numbers about Tripoli and, amongst other oases of the Fezzan, at Siwah, where they saved the Abbé Hamilton's life in A.D. 1843.

‡ Burckhardt's Travels in Arabia, vol. ii. p. 174.

students leave the place for Damascus and Cairo, where the Riwak El Haramain (college of the two shrines) in the Azhar mosque is always crowded, and though Omar Effendi boasted to me that his city was full of lore "as an egg is full of meat," he did not appear the less anxious to attend the lectures of Egyptian professors. But none of my informants claimed for El Medinah any facilities of studying other than the purely religious sciences.* Philosophy, medicine, arithmetic, mathematics, and algebra cannot be learnt here. I was careful to inquire about the occult sciences, remembering that Paracelsus had travelled in Arabia, and that the Count Cagliostro (Giuseppe Balsamo), who claimed the Meccan Sherif as his father, asserted that about A. D. 1765 he had studied alchemy at El Medinah. The only trace I could find was a superficial knowledge of the Magic Mirror. But after denying the Madani the praise of varied learning, it must be owned that their quick observation and retentive memories have stored up for them an abundance of superficial knowledge, culled from conversations in the market and in the camp. I found it impossible

* Of which I have given an account in Chapter XVI.

here to display those feats which in Sindh, Southern Persia, Eastern Arabia, and many parts of India, would be looked upon as miraculous. Most probably one of the company had witnessed the performance of some Italian conjuror at Constantinople or Alexandria, and retained a lively recollection of every manœuvre. As linguists they are not equal to the Meccans, who surpass all Orientals excepting only the Armenians; the Madani seldom know Turkish, and more rarely still Persian and Indian. Those only who have studied in Egypt chaunt the Koran well. The citizens speak and pronounce* their language purely; they are not equal to

* The only abnormal sound amongst the consonants heard here and in El Hejaz generally is the pronouncing of *k* (ك) a hard *g*—for instance "Gur'án" for "Kur'an" (a Koran), and Haggi for Hakki (my right). This *g*, however, is pronounced deep in the throat, and does not resemble the corrupt Egyptian pronunciation of the jim (*j*, ج), a letter which the Copts knew not, and which their modern descendants cannot articulate.

In El Hejaz the only abnormal sounds amongst the vowels are *o* for *ú*, as Khokh, a peach, and *ŏ* for *ŭ*, as Ohod for Uhud. The two short vowels *fath* and *kasr* are correctly pronounced, the former never becoming a short *e*, as in Egypt (El for Al and Yemen for Yaman), or a short *i*, as in Syria ("min" for "man" who? &c.) About the gutturalism of the Bedouins, I shall have to speak at another time.

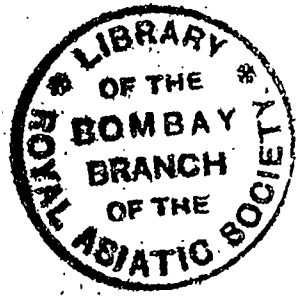
the people of the southern Hejaz, still their Arabic is refreshing after the horrors of Cairo and Muscat.

The classical Arabic, be it observed, in consequence of an extended empire, soon split up into various dialects, as the Latin under similar circumstances separated into the Neo-Roman patois of Italy, Sicily, Provence, and Languedoc. And though Niebuhr has been deservedly condemned for comparing the Koranic language to Latin and the vulgar tongue to Italian, still there is a great difference between them, almost every word having undergone some alteration in addition to the manifold changes and simplifications of grammar and syntax. The traveller will hear in every part of Arabia that some distant tribe preserves the linguistic purity of its ancestors, uses final vowels with the noun, and rejects the addition of the pronoun which apocope in the verb now renders necessary.* But I greatly doubt the existence of such a race of philologists. In El Hejaz, however, it is considered graceful in an old man, especially when

* *e. g.* Amt Zarabt—thou struckedst—for Zarabta. The final vowel, suffering apocope, would leave "Zarabt" equally applicable to the first person singular and the second person singular masculine.

conversing publicly, to lean towards classical Arabic. On the contrary, in a youth this would be treated as pedantic affectation, and condemned in some such satiric quotation as

> "There are two things colder than ice,
> A young old man, and an old young man."



## CHAP. XXII.

### A VISIT TO THE SAINTS' CEMETERY.

A SPLENDID comet, blazing in the western sky, had aroused the apprehensions of the Madani. They all fell to predicting the usual disasters—war, famine, and pestilence—it being still an article of belief that the dread star foreshows all manner of calamities. Men discussed the probability of Abd el Mejid's immediate decease; for here as in Rome,

> "When beggars die, there are no comets seen:
> The heavens themselves blaze forth the death of princes:"

And in every strange atmospheric appearance about the time of the Hajj, the Hejazis are accustomed to read tidings of the dreaded Rih El Asfar.*

Whether the event is attributable to the Zu Zuwabah — the "Lord of the Forelock," — or whether it was a case of *post hoc ergo propter hoc*

* The cholera. *See* Chapter XVIII.

I would not commit myself by deciding; but, influenced by some cause or other, the Hawazim and the Hawamid, subfamilies of the Beni Harb, began to fight about this time with prodigious fury. These tribes are eternally at feud, and the least provocation fans their smouldering wrath into a flame. The Hawamid number, it is said, between 3000 and 4000 fighting men, and the Hawazim not more than 700: the latter, however, are considered a race of desperadoes who pride themselves upon never retreating, and under their fiery Shaykhs, Abbas and Abu Ali, they are a thorn in the sides of their disproportionate foe. On the present occasion a Hamidah* happened to stride the camel of a Hazimi which had trespassed; upon which the Hazimi smote the Hamidah, and called him a rough name. The Hamidah instantly shot the Hazimi, the tribes were called out, and they fought with asperity for some days. During the whole of the afternoon of Tuesday the 30th August the sound of firing amongst the mountains was distinctly heard in the city. Through the streets parties of Bedouins, sword and matchlock in hand, or merely carrying

* The word Hawamid is plural of Hamidah, Hawazim of Hazimi.

quarter staves on their shoulders, might be seen hurrying along, frantic at the chance of missing the fray. The townspeople cursed them privily, expressing a hope that the whole race of vermin might consume itself. And the pilgrims were in no small trepidation, fearing the desertion of their camel-men, and knowing what a blaze is kindled in this inflammable land by an ounce of gunpowder. I afterwards heard that the Bedouins fought till night, and separated after losing on both sides ten men.

This quarrel put an end to any lingering possibility of my prosecuting my journey to Muscat * as originally intended. I had on the way from Yambu to El Medinah privily made a friendship with one Mujrim of the Beni Harbs. The "Sinful," as his name, an ancient and classical one amongst the Arabs, means, understood that I had some motive of secret interest to undertake the perilous journey. He could not promise at first to guide me, as his beat lay between Yambu, El Medinah, Meccah, and Jeddah. But he offered to make all

* Anciently there was a caravan from Muscat to El Medinah. My friends could not tell me when the line had been given up, but all were agreed that for years they had not seen an Oman caravan, the pilgrims preferring to enter El Hejaz *viâ* Jeddah.

inquiries about the route, and to bring me the result at noonday, a time when the household was always asleep. He had almost consented at last to travel with me about the end of August, in which case I should have slipped out of Hamid's house and started like a Bedouin towards the Indian Ocean. But when the war commenced, Mujrim, who doubtless wished to stand by his brethren the Hawazim, began to show signs of recusancy in putting off the day of departure to the end of September. At last, when pressed, he frankly told me that no traveller, nay, not a Bedouin, could leave the city in that direction, even as far as Khaybar*, which information I afterwards ascertained to be correct. It was impossible to start alone, and when in despair I had recourse to Shaykh Hamid, he seemed to think me mad

* According to Abulfeda, Khaybar is 6 stations N. E. of El Medinah; it is 4 according to El Edrisi; but my informants assured me that camels go there easily, as the Tarikh el Khamisy says, in 3 days. I should place it 80 miles N. N. E. of El Medinah. El Atwal locates it in 65° 20′ E. lon., and 25° 20′ N. lat.; El Kanun in lon. 67° 30′, and lat. 24° 20′; Ibn Said in lon. 64° 56′, and lat. 27°; and D'Anville in lon. 57°, and lat. 25°. In Burckhardt's map, and those copied from it, Khaybar is placed about 2° distant from El Medinah, which I believe to be too far.

for wishing to wend northwards when all the world was hurrying towards the south. My disappointment was bitter at first, but consolation soon suggested itself. Under the most favourable circumstances, a Bedouin-trip from El Medinah to Muscat, 1500 or 1600 miles, would require at least ten months; whereas, under pain of losing my commission*, I was ordered to be at Bombay before the end of March. Moreover, entering Arabia by El Hejaz, as has before been said, I was obliged to leave behind all my instruments except a watch and a pocket compass, so the benefit rendered to geography by my trip would have been scanty. Still remained to me the comfort of reflecting that possibly at Meccah some opportunity of crossing the Peninsula might present itself. At any rate I had the certainty of seeing the strange wild country of the Hejaz, and of being present at the ceremonies of the Holy City.

I must request the reader to bear with a Visitation once more: we shall conclude it with a ride

* The parliamentary limit of an officer's leave from India is five years: if he overstay that period, he forfeits his commission.

to El Bakia.* This venerable spot is frequented by the pious every day after the prayer at the Prophet's Tomb, and especially on Fridays. The least we can do is to go there once.

Our party started one morning,—on donkeys, as usual, for my foot was not yet strong,—along the Darb el Jenazah round the southern wall of the town. The locomotives were decidedly slow, principally in consequence of the tent-ropes which the Hajis had pinned down literally over the plain, and falls were by no means infrequent. At last we arrived at the end of the Darb, where I committed myself by mistaking the decaying place of those miserable schismatics the Nakhawilah † for El Bakia, the glorious cemetery of the Saints. Hamid corrected my blunder with tartness, to which I replied as tartly, that in our country—Affghanistan—we burned the body of every heretic upon whom we could lay our hands. This truly Islamitic custom was heard with general applause, and as the little dispute ended,

* The name means "the place of many roots." It is also called Bakia El Gharkad—the place of many roots of the tree Rhamnus. Gharkad is translated in different ways: some term it the lote, others the tree of the Jews (Forskal, *sub voce*).

† *See* Chapter XXI.

we stood at the open gate of El Bakia. Then having dismounted I sat down on a low Dakkah or stone bench within the walls, to obtain a general view and to prepare for the most fatiguing of the visitations.

There is a tradition that 70,000, or according to others 100,000 saints, all with faces like full moons, shall cleave on the last day the yawning bosom of El Bakia.* About 10,000 of the Ashab (companions of the Prophet) and innumerable Sayyids are buried here: their graves are forgotten, because, in the olden time, tombstones were not placed over the last dwelling-places of mankind. The first of flesh who shall arise is Mohammed, the second Abubekr, the third Omar, then the people of El Bakia (amongst whom is Osman, the fourth Caliph), and then the incolæ of the Jannat el Maala, the Meccan cemetery. The Hadis, "whoever dies at the two Harams shall rise with the Secure on the day of judgment," has made these spots priceless in value. And even upon earth they might be made a mine of wealth. Like the

* The same is said of the Makbarah Beni Salmah or Salim, a cemetery to the west of El Medinah, below rising ground called Jebel Sula. It has long ago been deserted. See Chapter XIV.

catacombs at Rome, El Bakia is literally full of the odour of sanctity, and a single item of the great aggregate here would render any other Moslem town famous. It is a pity that this people refuses to exhume its relics.

The first person buried in El Bakia was Osman bin Mazun, the first of the Muhajirs who died at El Medinah. In the month of Shaaban, A.H. 3, the Prophet kissed the forehead of the corpse and ordered it to be interred within sight of his abode.* In those days the field was covered with the tree Gharkad; the vegetation was cut down, the ground was levelled, and Osman was placed in the centre of the new cemetery. With his own hands Mohammed planted two large upright stones at the head and the feet of his faithful follower †; and in process of time a dome covered the spot. Ibrahim, the Prophet's infant second son, was laid by Osman's side, after which El Bakia became a celebrated cemetery.

* In those days El Medinah had no walls, and was clear of houses on the east of the Haram.

† These stones were removed by El Marwan, who determined that Osman's grave should not be distinguished from his fellows. For this act, the lieutenant of Muawiyah was reproved and blamed by pious Moslems.

The Burial-place of the Saints is an irregular oblong surrounded by walls which are connected with the suburb at their S.W. angle. The Darb el Jenazah separates it from the enceinte of the town, and the Eastern Desert Road beginning from the Bab el Jumah bounds it on the north. Around it palm plantations seem to flourish. It is small, considering the extensive use made of it: all that die at El Medinah, strangers as well as natives, except only heretics and schismatics, expect to be interred in it. It must be choked with corpses, which it could not contain did not the Moslem style of burial greatly favour rapid decomposition, and it has all the inconveniences of "intramural sepulture." The gate is small and ignoble; a mere doorway in the wall. Inside there are no flower-plots, no tall trees, in fact none of the refinements which lighten the gloom of a Christian burial-place: the buildings are simple, they might even be called mean. Almost all are the common Arab mosque, cleanly white-washed, and looking quite new. The ancient monuments were levelled to the ground by Saad the Wahhabi and his puritan followers, who waged pitiless warfare against what must have appeared to them magnificent mausolea, deeming as they did a

loose heap of stones sufficient for a grave. In Burckhardt's time the whole place was a "confused accumulation of heaps of earth, wide pits, and rubbish, without a single regular tombstone." The present erections owe their existence, I was told, to the liberality of the Sultans Abd El Hamid and Mahmud.

A poor pilgrim has lately started on his last journey, and his corpse, unattended by friends or mourners, is carried upon the shoulders of hired buriers into the cemetery. Suddenly they stay their rapid steps, and throw the body upon the ground. There is a life-like pliability about it as it falls, and the tight cerements so define the outlines that the action makes me shudder. It looks almost as if the dead pilgrim were conscious of what is about to occur. They have forgotten their tools; one man starts to fetch them, and three sit down to smoke. After a time a shallow grave is hastily scooped out.* The corpse is packed in it with such unseemly haste that earth touches it in all directions,—cruel carelessness among Moslems, who believe this to torture the sentient frame.† One

* It ought to be high enough for the tenant to sit upright when answering the interrogatory angels.

† Because of this superstition, in every part of El Islam,

comfort suggests itself. The poor man being a pilgrim has died Shahid — in martyrdom. Ere long his spirit shall leave El Bakia,

> "And he on honey-dew shall feed,
> And drink the milk of Paradise."

I entered the holy cemetery right foot forwards, as if it were a mosque, and barefooted, to avoid suspicion of being a heretic. For though the citizens wear their shoes in the Bakia, they are much offended at seeing the Persians follow their example. We began by the general benediction.* "Peace be with ye, O people of El Bakia! Peace

some contrivance is made to prevent the earth pressing upon the body.

* This blessing is in Mohammed's words, as the beauty of the Arabic shows. Ayisha relates that in the month Safar, A.H. 11, one night the Prophet, who was beginning to suffer from the headache which caused his death, arose from his couch, and walked out into the darkness; whereupon she followed him in a fit of jealousy, thinking that he might be about to visit some other wife. He went to El Bakia, delivered the above benediction (which others give somewhat differently), raised his hands three times, and turned to go home. Ayisha hurried back, but she could not conceal her agitation from her husband, who asked her what she had done. Upon her confessing her suspicions, he sternly informed her that he had gone forth, by order of the archangel Gabriel, to bless and to intercede for the people of El Bakia. Some authors relate a more facetious termination of the colloquy.— M. C. de Perceval (Essai, &c. vol. iii. p. 314.)

be with ye, O admitted to the presence of the Most High! Receive ye what ye have been promised! Peace be with ye, martyrs of El Bakia, one and all! We verily, if Allah please, are about to join ye! O Allah pardon us and them, and the mercy of God, and his blessings!" After which we recited the Chapter El Ikhlas and the Testification, then raised our hands, mumbled the Fát-háh, passed our palms down our faces, and went on.

Walking down a rough narrow path, which leads from the western to the eastern extremity of El Bakia, we entered the humble mausoleum of the caliph Osman — Osman "El Mazlum," or the "ill-treated," he is called by some Moslem travellers. When he was slain *, his friends wished to bury him by the Prophet in the Hujrah, and Ayisha made no objection to the measure. But the people of Egypt became violent, swore that the corpse should neither be buried nor be prayed over, and only permitted it to be removed upon the threat of Habibah (one of the "Mothers" of the Moslems, and daughter of Abu Sufiyan) to expose her coun-

* "Limping Osman," as the Persians contemptuously call him, was slain by rebels, and therefore became a martyr according to the Sunnis. The Shiahs justify the murder, saying it was the act of an "Ijma el Muslimin," or the general consensus of El Islam, which in their opinion ratifies an act of "Lynch law."

tenance. During the night that followed his death Osman was carried out by several of his friends to El Bakia, from which, however, they were driven away, and obliged to deposit their burden in a garden, eastward of and outside the saints' cemetery. It was called Husn Kaukab, and was looked upon as an inauspicious place of sepulture, till Marwan included it in El Bakia. We stood before Osman's monument, repeating, "Peace be with thee, O our Lord Osman, son of Affan!* Peace be with thee, O Caliph of Allah's Prophet! Peace be with thee, O writer of Allah's book! Peace be with thee, in whose presence the angels are ashamed!† Peace be with thee, O collector of the Koran! Peace be with thee, O son-in-law of the Prophet! Peace be with thee, O Lord of the Two Lights!‡ Peace be with thee, who fought the battle of the Faith! Allah be sa-

* This specifying the father Affan, proves him to have been a Moslem. Abubekr's father, "Kahafah," and Omar's, "El Khattab," are not mentioned by name in the Ceremonies of Visitation.

† The Christian reader must remember that the Moslems rank angelic nature, under certain conditions, below human nature.

‡ Osman married two daughters of the Prophet, a circumstance which the Sunnis quote as honourable to him: the Shiahs, on the contrary, declare that he killed them both by ill-treatment.

tisfied with thee, and cause thee to be satisfied, and render heaven thy habitation! Peace be with thee, and the mercy of Allah and his blessing, and praise be to Allah, Lord of the (three) worlds!" This supplication concluded in the usual manner. After which we gave alms, and settled with ten piastres the demands of the Khadim * who takes charge of the tomb: this double-disbursing process had to be repeated at each station.

Then moving a few paces to the north, we faced eastwards, and performed the visitation of Abu Said el Khazari, a Sahib or companion of the Prophet, whose sepulchre lies outside El Bakia. The third place visited was a dome containing the tomb of our lady Halimah, the Bedouin wet-nurse who took charge of Mohammed †: she is addressed

* These men are generally descendants of the Saint whose tomb they own: they receive pensions from the Mudir of the mosque, and retain all fees presented to them by visitors. Some families are respectably supported in this way.

† This woman, according to some accounts, also saved Mohammed's life, when an Arab Kahin or diviner, foreseeing that the child was destined to subvert the national faith, urged the bystanders to bury their swords in his bosom.

The Sherifs of Meccah still entrust their children to the Bedouins, that they may be hardened by the discipline of the Desert. And the late Pacha of Egypt gave one of his sons in charge of the Anizah tribe, near Akabah. Burckhardt

thus: "Peace be with thee, O Halimah the auspicious! * Peace be with thee, who performed thy trust in suckling the best of mankind! Peace be with thee, O wet-nurse of El Mustafa! Peace be with thee, O wet-nurse of El Mujtaba! † May Allah be satisfied with thee, and cause thee to be satisfied, and render heaven thy house and habitation! and verily we have come visiting thee, and by means of thee drawing near to Allah's Prophet, and through him to God the Lord of the heavens and the earths." ‡

After which, fronting the north, we stood before a low enclosure, containing ovals of loose stones, disposed side by side. These are the martyrs of El Bakia, who received the crown of glory at the hands of El Muslim §, the general of the arch-heretic Yezid.‖ The prayer here recited differs so little

(Travels in Arabia, vol. i. p. 427.), makes some sensible remarks about this custom, which cannot be too much praised.

* El "Sadiyah," a *double entendre;* it means auspicious, and also alludes to Halimah's tribe, the Beni Saad.

† Both these words are titles of the Prophet. El Mustafa means the "Chosen;" El Mujtaba, the "Accepted."

‡ There being, according to the Moslems, many heavens and many earths.

§ See Chap. XX.

‖ The Shafei school allows its disciples to curse El Yezid, the son of Muawiyah, whose cruelties to the descendants of the

from that addressed to the martyrs of Ohod, that I will not transcribe it. The fifth station is near the centre of the cemetery at the tomb of Ibrahim, who died, to the eternal regret of El Islam, some say six months old, others in his second year. He was the son of Mariyah, the Coptic girl, sent as a present to Mohammed by Jarih the Mukaukas or governor of Alexandria. The Prophet with his own hand piled earth upon the grave, and sprinkled it with water,— a ceremony then first performed,— disposed small stones upon it, and pronounced the final salutation.* Then we visited El Nafi Maula, son of Omar, generally called Imam Nafi el Kari, or the Koran chaunter; and near him the great doctor Imam Malik ibn Anas, a native of El Medinah, and one of the most dutiful of her sons. The eighth station is at the tomb of Ukayl

Prophet, and crimes and vices, have made him the Judas Iscariot of El Islam. I have heard Hanafi Moslems, especially Sayyids, revile him, but this is not strictly speaking correct. The Shiahs, of course, place no limits to their abuse of him. You first call a man "Omar," then "Shimr," (the slayer of El Hosayn), and lastly, "Yezid," beyond which insult does not extend.

* For which reason many holy men were buried in this part of the cemetery, every one being ambitious to lie in ground which had been honoured by the Prophet's hands.

bin Abi Talib, brother of Ali.* Then we visited the spot where lie interred all the Prophet's wives, Ayisha included.† After the "Mothers of the Moslems," we prayed at the tombs of Mohammed's daughters, said to be ten in number.

In compliment probably to the Hajj, the beggars mustered strong that morning at El Bakia. Along the walls and at the entrance of each building squatted ancient dames, all engaged in fervent contemplation of every approaching face, and in pointing to dirty cotton napkins spread upon the ground before them, and studded with a few coins, gold, silver, or copper, according to the expectations of the proprietress. They raised their voices to demand largesse: some promised to write Fát-háhs, and the most audacious seized visitors by the skirts of their garments. Fakihs, ready to write "Y. S." or anything else demanded of them, covered the little heaps and eminences of the cemetery, all begging lustily, and looking as though they would

* Ukayl or Akil, as many write the name, died at Damascus, during the caliphate of El Muawiyah. Some say he was buried there, others that his corpse was transported to El Medinah, and buried in a place where formerly his house, known as "Dar Ukayl," stood.

† Khadijah, who lies at Meccah, is the only exception. Mohammed married fifteen wives, of whom nine survived him.

murder you, when told how beneficent is Allah.* At the doors of the tombs old housewives, and some young ones also, struggled with you for your slippers as you doffed them, and not unfrequently the charge of the pair was divided between two. Inside when the boys were not loud enough or importunate enough for presents, they were urged on by the adults and seniors, the relatives of the "Khadims" and hangers-on. Unfortunately for me, Shaykh Hamid was renowned for taking charge of wealthy pilgrims: the result was, that my purse was lightened of three dollars. I must add that although at least fifty female voices loudly promised that morning, for the sum of ten paras each, to supplicate Allah in behalf of my lameness, no perceptible good came of their efforts.

Before leaving El Bakia, we went to the eleventh station †, the Kubbat el Abbasiyah, or Dome of Abbas. Originally built by the Abbaside Caliphs in A. H. 519, it is a larger and a handsomer building than its fellows, and is situated on the

* A polite form of objecting to be charitable.

† Some are of opinion that the ceremonies of Ziyarah formerly did, and still should begin here. But the order of visitation differs infinitely, and no two authors seem to agree. I was led by Shaykh Hamid, and indulged in no scruples.

right hand side of the gate as you enter in. The crowd of beggars at the door testified to its importance: they were attracted by the Persians who assemble here in force to weep and pray. Crossing the threshold with some difficulty, I walked round a mass of tombs which occupies the centre of the building, leaving but a narrow passage between it and the walls. It is railed round, covered over with several "kiswahs" of green cloth, worked with white letters, and looked like a confused heap; but it might have appeared irregular to me by the reason of the mob around. The eastern portion contains the body of El Hasan, the son of Ali, and grandson of the Prophet *; the Imam Zayn el Abidin,

* Burckhardt makes a series of mistakes upon this subject. "*Hassan* ibn Aly, whose trunk only lies buried here (in El Bakia), his head having been sent to Cairo, where it is preserved in the fine mosque called El *Hassanya*."

The mosque El Hasanayn (the "two Hasans") is supposed to contain only the head of El *Hosayn*, which, when the crusaders took Ascalon, was brought from thence by Sultan Salih or Beybars, and conveyed to Cairo. As I have said before, the Persians in Egypt openly show their contempt of this tradition.

It must be remembered that El Hasán died poisoned at El Medinah by his wife Jaadah. El Hosayn, on the other hand, was slain and decapitated at Kerbela. According to the Shiahs, Zayn el Abidin obtained from Yezid, after a space of

son of El Hosayn, and great-grandson to the Prophet; the Imam Mohammed El Bakir (fifth Imam), son to Zayn el Abidin; and his son the Imam Jaafar el Sadik—all four descendants of the Prophet, and buried in the same grave with Abbas ibn Abd el Muttaleb, uncle to Mohammed. It is almost needless to say that these names are subjects of great controversy. El Masudi mentions that here was found an inscribed stone declaring it to be the tomb of the Lady Fatimah, of Hasan her son, of Ali bin Hosayn, of Mohammed bin Ali, and of Jaafar bin Mohammed. Ibn Jubair, describing El Bakia, mentions only two in this tomb, Abbas and Hasan; the head of the latter, he says, in the direction of the former's feet. Other authors relate that in it, about the ninth century of the Hijrah,

forty days, his father's head, and carried it back to Kerbela, for which reason the event is known to the Persians as "Chilleyeh sar o tan," the "forty days of (separation between) the head and trunk." They vehemently deny that the body lies at Kerbela, and the head at Cairo.

Others, again, declare that El Hosayn's head was sent by Yezid to Amr bin el As, the governor of El Medinah, and was by him buried near Fatimah's Tomb. Nor are they wanting who declare, that after Yezid's death the head was found in his treasury, and was shrouded and buried at Damascus. Such is the uncertainty which hangs over the early history of El Islam.

was found a wooden box covered with fresh-looking red felt cloth, with bright brass nails, and they believe it to have contained the corpse of Ali, placed here by his son Hasan.

We stood opposite this mysterious tomb, and repeated, with difficulty by reason of the Persians weeping, the following supplication: — "Peace be with ye, O family of the Prophet! O Lord Abbas, the free from impurity and uncleanness, and father's brother to the best of men! And thou too O Lord Hasan, grandson of the Prophet! And thou too O Lord Zayn el Abidin!* Peace be with ye, one and all, for verily God hath been pleased to free you from all guile, and to purify you with all purity. The mercy of Allah and his blessings be upon you, and verily he is the Praised, the Mighty!" After which, freeing ourselves from the hands of greedy boys, we turned round and faced the southern wall, close to which is a tomb attributed to the Lady Fatimah.† I will not repeat

* The names of the fifth and sixth Imams, Mohammed el Bakia and Jaafar el Sadik, were omitted by Hamid, as doubtful whether they are really buried here or not.

† Moslem historians seem to delight in the obscurity which hangs over the lady's last resting-place, as if it were an honour even for the receptacle of her ashes to be concealed from the eyes of men. Some place her in the Haram, relying upon this tradition: — Fatimah, feeling about to die, rose up joyfully, per-

the prayer, it being the same as that recited in the Haram.

formed the greater ablution, dressed herself in pure garments, spread a mat upon the floor of her house near the Prophet's Tomb, lay down fronting the Kiblah, placed her hand under her cheek, and said to her attendant, "I am pure and in a pure dress; now let no one uncover my body, but bury me where I lie!" When Ali returned he found his wife dead, and complied with her last wishes. Omar bin Abd el Aziz believed this tradition, when he included the room in the mosque; and generally in El Islam Fatimah is supposed to be buried in the Haram.

Those who suppose the Prophet's daughter to be buried in El Bakia rely upon a saying of the Imam Hasan, "If men will not allow me to sleep beside my grandsire, place me in El Bakia, by my mother." They give the following account of his death and burial. His body was bathed and shrouded by Ali and Omar Salmah. Others say that Asma bint Umays, the wife of Abubekr, was present with Fatimah, who at her last hour complained of being carried out, as was the custom of those days, to burial like a man. Asma promised to make her a covered bier, like a bride's litter, of palm sticks, in shape like what she had seen in Abyssinia: whereupon Fatimah smiled for the first time after her father's death, and exacted from her a promise to allow no one entrance as long as her corpse was in the house. Ayisha, shortly afterwards knocking at the door, was refused admittance by Asma; the former complained of this to her father, and declared that her stepmother had been making a bride's litter to carry out the corpse. Abubekr went to the door, and when informed by his wife that all was the result of Fatimah's orders, he returned home making no objection. The death of the Prophet's daughter was concealed by her own desire from high and low; she was

Issuing from the hot and crowded dome, we recovered our slippers after much trouble, and found that our garments had suffered from the frantic gesticulations of the Persians. We then walked to the gate of El Bakia, stood facing the cemetery upon an elevated piece of ground, and delivered the general benediction.

"O Allah! O Allah! O Allah! O full of mercy! O abounding in beneficence! Lord of length (of days), and prosperity, and goodness! O thou who when asked, grantest, and when prayed for aid, aidest! Have mercy upon the companions of thy Prophet, of the Muhajirin, and the Ansar! Have mercy upon them, one and all! Have mercy upon Abdullah bin Hantal (and so on, specifying their names), and make Paradise their resting-place, their habitation, their dwelling, and their abode!

buried at night, and none accompanied her bier, or prayed at her grave, except Ali and a few relatives. The Shiahs found a charge of irreverence and disrespect against Abubekr for absence on this occasion.

The third place which claims Fatimah's honoured remains, is a small mosque in El Bakia, south of the Sepulchre of Abbas. It was called Bait el Huzn—House of Mourning—because here the lady passed the end of her days, lamenting the loss of her father. Her tomb appears to have formerly been shown there. Now visitors pray, and pray only twice,—at the Haram, and in the Kubbat el Abbasiyah.

O Allah! accept our Ziyarah, and supply our wants, and lighten our griefs, and restore us to our homes, and comfort our fears, and disappoint not our hopes, and pardon us, for on no other do we rely; and let us depart in thy faith, and after the practice of thy Prophet, and be thou satisfied with us! O Allah! forgive our past offences, and leave us not to our (evil) natures during the glance of an eye, or a lesser time; and pardon us, and pity us, and let us return to our houses and homes safe (*i. e.* spiritually and physically), fortunate, abstaining from what is unlawful, re-established after our distresses, and belonging to the good, thy servants upon whom is no fear, nor do they know distress! Repentance, O Lord! Repentance, O Merciful! Repentance, O Pitiful! Repentance before death, and pardon after death! I beg pardon of Allah! Thanks be to Allah! Praise be to Allah! Amen, O Lord of the (three) worlds!"

After which, issuing from El Bakia *, we ad-

* The other celebrities in El Bakia are,

Fatimah bint Asad, mother of Ali. She was buried with great religious pomp. The Prophet shrouded her with his own garment (to prevent hell from touching her), dug her grave, lay down in it (that it might never squeeze or be narrow to her), assisted in carrying the bier, prayed over her,

vanced northwards, leaving the city gate on the left hand, and came to a small Kubbah close to the

and proclaimed her certain of future felicity. Over her tomb was written, "The grave hath not closed upon one like Fatimah, daughter of Asad."

Historians relate that Mohammed lay down in only four graves: 1. Khadijah's, at Meccah. 2. Kasim's, her son by him. 3. That of Umm Ruman, Ayisha's mother. 4. That of Abdullah el Mazni, a friend and companion.

Abd el Rahman bin Auf was interred near Oman bin Mazun. Ayisha offered to bury him in her house near the Prophet, but he replied that he did not wish to narrow her abode, and that he had promised to sleep by the side of his friend Mazun. I have already alluded to the belief that none has been able to occupy the spare place in the Hujrah.

Ibn Hufazah el Sahmi, who was one of the Ashab el Hijratain (who had accompanied both flights, the greater and the lesser), here died of a wound received at Ohod, and was buried in Shawwal, A. H. 3, one month after Osman bin Mazun.

Abdullah bin Masud, who, according to others, is buried at Kufah.

Saad ibn Zararah, interred near Osman bin Mazun.

Saad bin Maaz, who was buried by the Prophet. He died of a wound received during the battle of the Moat.

Abd el Rahman el Ausat, son of Omar, the Caliph. He was generally known as Abu Shahmah, the "Father of Fat:" he sickened and died, after receiving from his father the religious flogging—*impudicitiæ causâ*.

Abu Sufiyan bin el Haris, grandson of Abd el Muttaleb. He was buried near Abdullah bin Jaafar el Tayyar, popularly known as the "most generous of the Arabs," and near Ukayl bin Abi Talib, the brother of Ali mentioned above.

These are the principal names mentioned by popular authors

road. It is visited as containing the tomb of the Prophet's paternal aunts, especially of Safiyah, daughter of Abd el Muttaleb, sister of Hamzah, and one of the many heroines of early El Islam. Hurrying over our directions here,—for we were tired indeed,—we applied to a Sakka for water, and entered a little coffee-house near the gate of the town, after which we rode home.

I have now described, I fear at a wearying length, the spots visited by every Zair at El Medinah. The guide-books mention altogether between fifty and fifty-five mosques and other holy places, most of which are now unknown even by name to the citizens. The most celebrated of these are the few following, which I describe from hearsay.

About three miles to the N. W. of the town, close to the Wady el Akik, lies the mosque called El Kiblatain—the "Two Directions of Prayer." Some give this title to the Masjid el Takwa at Kuba.* Others assert that the Prophet, after visiting and eating at the house of an old woman named Umm Mabshar, went to pray the mid-day prayer

The curious reader will find in old histories a multitude of others, whose graves are now utterly forgotten at El Medinah.

* See Chap. XIX.

in the mosque of the Beni Salmah. He had performed the prostration with his face towards Jerusalem, when suddenly warned by revelation he turned southwards and concluded his orisons in that direction. The story is related in another way. Whilst Mohammed was praying the Asr or afternoon prayer at the Haram he turned his face towards Meccah. Some of the Companions ran instantly to all the mosques, informing the people of the change. In many places they were not listened to, but the Beni Salmah who were at prayer instantly faced southwards. To commemorate their obedience the mosque was called El Kiblatain. I am told it is a mean dome without inner walls, outer enclosures, or minaret.

The Masjid Beni Zafar (some write the word Tifr) is also called Masjid el Baghlah—of the She-mule,—because—El Matari relates—on the ridge of stone to the south of this mosque are the marks where the Prophet leaned his arm, and where the she-mule, Duldul, sent as a present with Mariyah the Coptic Girl and Yafur the donkey by the Mukaukas, placed her hoofs. At the mosque was shown a slab upon which the Prophet sat hearing recitations from the Koran; and historians declare that by following his ex-

ample many women have been blessed with offspring.* The mosque is to the east of El Bakia.

The Masjid el Jumah — of Friday,— or El Anikah — of the Sand-heaps,— is in the valley near Kuba, where Mohammed prayed and preached on the first Friday after his flight from Meccah.†

The Masjid el Fazikh — of Date-liquor — is so called because when Abu Ayyub and others of the Ansar were sitting with cups in their hands, they heard that intoxicating draughts were for the future forbidden, upon which they poured the liquor upon the ground. Here the Prophet prayed six days whilst he was engaged in warring down the Beni Nazir Jews. The mosque derives its other name, El Shams — of the Sun — because, being erected on rising ground east of and near Kuba, it receives the first rays of morning light.

To the eastward of the Masjid el Fazikh lies the Masjid el Kurayzah, erected on a spot where the Prophet descended to attack the Jewish tribe of that name. Returning from the Battle of the

* I cannot say whether this valuable stone be still at the Mosque Beni Tifr. But I perfectly remember that my friend Larking had a mutilated sphynx in his garden at Alexandria, which was found equally efficacious.

† See Chap. XVII.

Moat, way-worn and tired with fighting, he here sat down to wash and comb his hair, when suddenly appeared to him the Archangel Gabriel in the figure of a horseman dressed in a corslet and covered with dust. "The Angels of Allah," said the preternatural visitor, "are still in arms, O Prophet, and it is Allah's will that thy foot return to the stirrup. I go before thee to prepare a victory over the infidels, the sons of Kurayzah." The legend adds that the dust raised by the angelic host was seen in the streets of El Medinah, but that mortal eye fell upon no horseman's form. The Prophet ordered his followers to sound the battle-call, gave his flag to Ali,—the Arab token of appointing a commander-in-chief,—and for twenty-five days invested the habitations of the enemy. This hapless tribe was exterminated, sentence of death being passed upon them by Saad ibn Maaz, an Ausi whom they constituted their judge because he belonged to an allied tribe. 600 men were beheaded in the market-place of El Medinah, their property was plundered, and their wives and children were reduced to slavery.

"Tantane relligio potunt suadere malorum!"

The Masjid Mashrabat Umm Ibrahim, or mosque

of the garden of Ibrahim's mother, is a place where Mariyah had a garden and became the mother of Ibrahim, the Prophet's second son.* It is a small building in what is called the Awali, or highest part of the El Medinah plain, to the north of the Masjid Beni Kurayzah, and near the eastern Harrah or ridge.†

Northwards of El Bakia is, or was, a small building called the Masjid el Ijabah—of Granting,—from the following circumstance. One day the Prophet stopped to perform his devotions at this place, which then belonged to the Beni Muawiyah of the tribe of Aus. He made a long Dua or supplication, and then turning to his companions exclaimed, "I have asked of Allah three favours, two hath he vouchsafed to me, but the third was refused!" Those granted were that the Moslems

* Mohammed's eldest son was Kasim, who died in his infancy, and was buried at Meccah. Hence the Prophet's pædonymic, Abu Kasim, the sire of Kasim.

† Ayisha used to relate that she was exceedingly jealous of the Coptic girl's beauty, and the Prophet's love for her. Mohammed seeing this, removed Mariyah from the house of Harisat bin el Numan, in which he had placed her, to the Awali of El Medinah, where the mosque now is. Oriental authors use this term "Awali," high-grounds, to denote the plains to the eastward and southward of the city, opposed to El Safilah, the lower ground on the W. and N.W.

might never be destroyed by famine or by deluge. The third was that they might not perish by internecine strife.

The Masajid el-Fath — of Victory, — vulgarly called the "Four Mosques," are situated in the Wady El Sayh*, which comes from the direction of Kuba, and about half a mile to the east of "El Kiblatain." The largest is called the Masjid el Fath or El Ahzab — of the Troops, — and is alluded to in the Koran. Here it is said the Prophet prayed for three days during the Battle of the Moat, also called the battle "El Ahzab," the last fought with the Infidel Kuraysh under Abu Sufiyan. After three days of devotion, a cold and violent blast arose, with rain and sleet, and discomfited the foe. The Prophet's prayer having here been granted, it is supposed by ardent Moslems that no petition put up at the Mosque El Ahzab is ever neglected by Allah. The form of supplication is differently quoted by different authors. When El Shafei was in trouble and fear of Harun el Rashid, by the virtue of this formula he escaped all danger: I would willingly offer so valuable a prophylactory to my readers,

* I am very doubtful about this location of the Masajid el Fath.

only it is of an unmanageable length. The doctors of El Islam also greatly differ about the spot where the Prophet stood on this occasion; most of them support the claims of the Masjid el Fath, the most elevated of the four, to that distinction. Below, and to the south of the highest ground, is the Masjíd Sálman El Farsi, the Persian, from whose brain emanated the bright idea of the Moat. At the mature age of 250, some say 350, after spending his life in search of a religion, from a Magus* becoming successively a Jew and a Nazarene, he ended with being a Moslem, and a companion of Mohammed. During his eventful career he had been ten times sold into slavery. Below Salman's mosque is the Masjid Ali, and the smallest building on the south of the hill is called Masjid Abubekr. All these places owe their existence to El Walid the Caliph: they were repaired at times by his successors.

The Masjid El Rayah — of the Banner — was originally built by El Walid upon a place where the Prophet pitched his tent during the War of the Moat. Others call it El Zubab, after a hill upon which it stands. El Rayah is separated from the

* A magus, a magician, one supposed to worship fire.

Masajid el Fath by a rising ground called Jebel Sula or Jebel Sawab*: the former being on the eastern, whilst the latter lies upon the western declivity of the hill. The position of this place is greatly admired, as commanding the fairest view of the Haram.

About a mile and a half south-east of El Bakia is a dome called Kuwwat Islam, the Strength of El Islam. Here the Prophet planted a dry palm-stick, which grew up, blossomed, and bore fruit at once. Moreover, on one occasion when the Moslems were unable to perform the pilgrimage, Mohammed here produced the appearance of a Kaabah, an Arafat, and all the appurtenances of the Hajj. I must warn my readers not to condemn the founder of El Islam for these puerile inventions.

The Masjid Onayn lies south of Hamzah's tomb. It is on a hill called Jebel el Rumat, the Shooters' Hill, and here during the battle of Ohod stood the archers of El Islam. According to some the Prince of Martyrs here received his death-wound; others

* The mosque of "reward in heaven." It is so called because during the War of the Moat, the Prophet used to live in a cave there, and afterwards he made it a frequent resort for prayer.

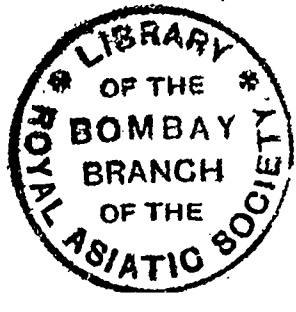
place that event at the Masjid el Askar or the Masjid El Wady.*

Besides these fourteen, I find the names, and nothing but the names, of forty mosques. The reader loses little by my unwillingness to offer him a detailed list of such appellations as Masjid Beni Abdel-Ashhal, Masjid Beni Harisah, Masjid Beni Haram, Masjid el Fash, Masjid El Sukiya, Masjid Beni Bayazah, Masjid Beni Hatmah,

"Cum multis aliis quæ nunc perscribere longum est."

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* Hamzah's fall is now placed at the Kubbat el Masra. See Chap. XX.



# POSTSCRIPT.

The Damascus caravan was to start on the 27th Zu'l Kaadah (1st September). I had intended to stay at El Medinah till the last moment, and to accompany the Kafilat el Tayyarah, or the "Flying Caravan," which usually leaves on the 2nd Zu'l Hijjah, two days after that of Damascus.

Suddenly arose the rumour that there would be no Tayyarah *, and that all pilgrims must proceed with the Damascus caravan or await the Rakb.† The Sherif Zayd, Saad the Robber's only friend, had paid him an unsuccessful visit. Schinderhans demanded back his Shaykh-ship, in return for a safe-conduct through his country: "Otherwise," said he, "I will cut the throat of every hen that ventures into the passes."

* The "Tayyarah," or "Flying Caravan," is lightly laden, and travels by forced marches.

† The Rakb is a dromedary-caravan, in which each person carries only his saddle-bags. It usually descends by the road called El Khabt, and makes Meccah on the fifth day.

The Sherif Zayd returned to El Medinah on the 25th Zu'l Kaadah (30th August). Early on the morning of the next day, Shaykh Hamid returned hurriedly from the bazaar, exclaiming, "You must make ready at once, Effendi! — there will be no Tayyarah — all Hajis start to-morrow — Allah will make it easy to you! — have you your water-skins in order? — you are to travel down the Darb El Sharki, where you will not see water for three days!"

Poor Hamid looked horror-struck as he concluded this fearful announcement, which filled me with joy. Burckhardt had visited and described the Darb El Sultani, the "High" or "Royal road" along the coast. But no European had as yet travelled down by Harun El Rashid's and the Lady Zubaydah's celebrated route through the Nejd Desert.

Not a moment, however, was to be lost: we expected to start early the next morning. The boy Mohammed went forth, and bought for eighty piastres a shugduf, which lasted us throughout the pilgrimage, and for fifteen piastres a shibriyah or cot to be occupied by Shaykh Nur, who did not relish sleeping on boxes. The youth was employed all day, with sleeves tucked up and working like a porter, in covering the litter with matting

and rugs, in mending broken parts, and in providing it with large pockets for provisions inside and outside, with pouches to contain the gugglets of cooled water.

Meanwhile Shaykh Nur and I, having inspected the water-skins, found that the rats had made considerable rents in two of them. There being no workman procurable at this time for gold, I sat down to patch the damaged articles, whilst Nur was sent to lay in provisions for fourteen days.* By my companion's advice I took wheat-flour, rice, turmeric, onions, dates, unleavened bread of two kinds, cheese, limes, tobacco, sugar, tea and coffee.

Hamid himself started upon the most important part of our business. Faithful camel-men are required upon a road where robberies are frequent and stabbings occasional, and where there is no law to prevent desertion or to limit new and exorbitant demands. After a time he returned, accompanied by a boy and a Bedouin, a short, thin, well-built old man with regular features, a white beard, and a cool clear eye; his limbs, as

* The journey is calculated at eleven days; but provisions are apt to spoil, and the Bedouin camel-men expect to be fed. Besides which, pilferers abound.

usual, were scarred with wounds. Masud, of the Rahlah, a sub-family of the Hamidah family of the Beni Harb, came in with a dignified demeanour, applied his dexter palm to ours *, sat down, declined a pipe, accepted coffee, and after drinking it, looked at us to show that he was ready for negotiation. We opened the proceedings with "We want men and not camels," and the conversation proceeded in the purest Hejazi.† After much discussion we agreed, if compelled to travel by the Darb El Sharki, to pay twenty dollars for two camels ‡, and to advance *arbun* or earnest-money to half that amount.§ The Shaykh bound

* This "Musafahah," as it is called, is the Arab fashion of shaking hands. They apply the palms of the right hands flat to each other, without squeezing the fingers, and then raise the hand to the forehead.

† On this occasion I heard three new words: "Kharitah," used to signify a single trip to Meccah (without return to El Medinah), "Taarifah," going out from Meccah to Mount Arafat, and "Tanzilah," return from Mount Arafat to Meccah.

‡ And part of an extra animal which was to carry water for the party. Had we travelled by the Darb el Sultani, we should have paid 6½ dollars, instead of 10, for each beast.

§ The system of advances, as well as earnest money, is common all over Arabia. In some places, Aden for instance, I have heard of two-thirds the price of a cargo of coffee being required from the purchaser before the seller would undertake to furnish a single bale.

himself to provide us with good animals, which moreover were to be changed in case of accidents; he was also to supply his beasts with water, and to accompany us to Arafat and back. But, absolutely refusing to carry my large box, he declared that the tent under the shugduf was burden enough for one camel, and that the small-green case of drugs, the saddle-bags, and the provision-sacks surmounted by Nur's cot, were amply sufficient for the other. On our part we bound ourselves to feed the Shaykh and his son, supplying them either with raw or with cooked provender, and, upon our return to Meccah from Mount Arafat, to pay the remaining hire with a discretionary present.

Hamid then addressed to me flowery praises of the old Bedouin. After which, turning to the latter, he exclaimed, "Thou wilt treat these friends well, O Masud the Harbi!" The ancient replied with a dignity that had no pomposity in it,—"Even as Abu Shawarib—the Father of Mustachios*—behaveth to us, so will we behave to

* Most men of the Shafei school clip their mustachios exceedingly short; some clean shave the upper lip, the imperial, and the parts of the beard about the corners of the mouth, and

him!" He then arose, bade us be prepared when the departure-gun sounded, saluted us, and stalked out of the room, followed by his son, who, under pretext of dozing, had mentally made an inventory of every article in the room, ourselves especially included.

When the Bedouins disappeared, Shaykh Hamid shook his head, advising me to give them plenty to eat, and never to allow twenty-four hours to elapse without dipping hand in the same dish with them, in order that the party might always be "málihín,"—on terms of salt.* He concluded with a copious lecture upon the villany of Bedouins, and their habit of drinking travellers' water. I was to place the skins on a camel in front, and not be-

the fore-part of the cheeks. I neglected so to do, which soon won for me the epithet recorded above.

Arabs are vastly given to "nick-naming God's creatures;" their habit is the effect of acute observation, and the want of variety in proper names. Sonnini appears not to like having been called the "Father of a nose." But there is nothing disrespectful in these personal allusions. In Arabia you must be "father" of something, and it is better to be father of a feature, than father of a cooking-pot, or father of a strong smell ("Abu-Zirt.")

* Salt among the Hindus is considered the essence and preserver of the seas; it was therefore used in their offerings to the gods. The old idea in Europe was, that salt is a body

hind; to hang the skins with their mouths carefully tied, and turned upwards, contrary to the general practice; always to keep a good store of liquid, and at night to place it under the safeguard of the tent.

In the afternoon, Omar Effendi and others dropped in to take leave. They found me in the midst of preparations, sewing sacks, fitting up a pipe, patching water-bags, and packing medicines. My fellow-traveller had brought me some pencils * and a pen-knife, as "forget-me-nots," for we were by no means sure of meeting again. He hinted, however, at another escape from the paternal abode, and proposed, if possible, to join the Dromedary-Caravan. Shaykh Hamid said the same, but I saw by the expression of his face, that his mother

composed of various elements, into which it cannot be resolved by human means: hence, it became the type of an indissoluble tie between individuals. Homer calls salt sacred and divine, and whoever ate it with a stranger was supposed to become his friend. By the Greek authors, as by the Arabs, hospitality and salt are words expressing a kindred idea.

When describing the Bedouins of El Hejaz, I shall have occasion to notice their peculiar notions of the Salt-law.

* The import of such articles shows the march of progress in El Hejaz. During the last generation, schoolmasters used for pencils bits of bar lead beaten to a point.

and wife would not give him leave from home so soon after his return.

Towards evening time the Barr el Munakhah became a scene of exceeding confusion. The town of tents lay upon the ground. Camels were being laden, and were roaring under the weight of litters, cots, boxes, and baggage. Horses and mules gallopped about. Men were rushing wildly in all directions on worldly errands, or hurrying to pay a farewell visit to the Prophet's Tomb. Women and children sat screaming on the ground, or ran about distracted, or called their vehicles to escape the danger of being crushed. Every now and then a random shot excited all into the belief that the departure-gun had sounded. At times we heard a volley from the robbers' hills, which elicited a general groan, for the pilgrims were still, to use their own phrase, "between fear and hope," and, consequently, still far from "one of the two comforts." * Then would sound the loud "Jhin-Jhin" of the camels' bells, as the stately animals paced away with some grandee's gilt and emblazoned

* The "two comforts" are success and despair; the latter, according to the Arabs, being a more enviable state of feeling than doubt or hope deferred.

litter, the sharp grunt of the dromedary, and the loud neighing of excited steeds.

About an hour after sunset all our preparations were concluded, save only the shugduf, at which the boy Mohammed still worked with untiring zeal; he wisely remembered that in it he had to spend the best portion of a week and a half. The evening was hot, we therefore dined outside the house. I was told to repair to the Haram for the Ziyarat el Widaa, or the "Farewell Visitation;" but my decided objection to this step was that we were all to part,—how soon!—and when to meet again we knew not. My companions smiled consent, assuring me that the ceremony could be performed as well at a distance as in the temple.

Then Shaykh Hamid made me pray a two-prostration prayer, and afterwards facing towards the Haram, to recite this supplication with raised hands:

"O Prophet of Allah, we beg thee to entreat Almighty Allah, that he cut off no portion of the good resulting to us, from this visit to thee and to thy Haram! May he cause us to return safe and prosperous to our birthplaces; aid then us in the progeny he hath given us, and continue to us his benefits, and make us thankful for our daily bread!

O Allah, let not this be the last of our visitations to thy Prophet's Tomb! Yet if thou summon us before such blessing, verily in my death I bear witness, as in my life" (here the forefinger of the right hand is extended, that the members of the body may take part with the tongue and the heart), "that there is no god but Allah, one and without partner, and verily that our lord Mohammed is his Servant and his Prophet! O Allah, grant us in this world weal, and in the future weal, and save us from the torments of hell fire! Praise to thee, O Lord, Lord of Glory, greater than man can describe! and peace be with the Prophet, and laud to Allah, the Lord of the (three) worlds." *

Then began the uncomfortable process of paying off little bills. The Eastern creditor always, for

* This concludes, as usual, with the Testification and the Fát-háh. Pious men on such an occasion always go to the Rauzah, where they strive, if possible, to shed a tear.—a single drop being a sign of acceptance,—give alms to the utmost of their ability, vow piety, repentance, and obedience, and retire overwhelmed with grief, at separating themselves from their Prophet and Intercessor. It is customary, too, before leaving El Medinah, to pass at least one night in vigils at the Haram, and for learned men to read through the Koran once before the Tomb.

divers reasons, waits the last moment before he claims his debt. Shaykh Hamid had frequently hinted at his difficulties; the only means of escape from which, he said, was to rely upon Allah. He had treated me so hospitably, that I could not take back any part of the 5*l.* lent to him at Suez. His three brothers received a dollar or two each, and one or two of his cousins hinted to some effect that such a proceeding would meet with their approbation.

The luggage was then carried down, and disposed in packs upon the ground before the house, so as to be ready for loading at a moment's notice. Many flying parties of travellers had almost started on the high road, and late in the evening came a new report that the body of the caravan would march about midnight. We sat up till about 2 A. M., when, having heard no gun, and seen no camels, we lay down to sleep through the sultry remnant of the hours of darkness.

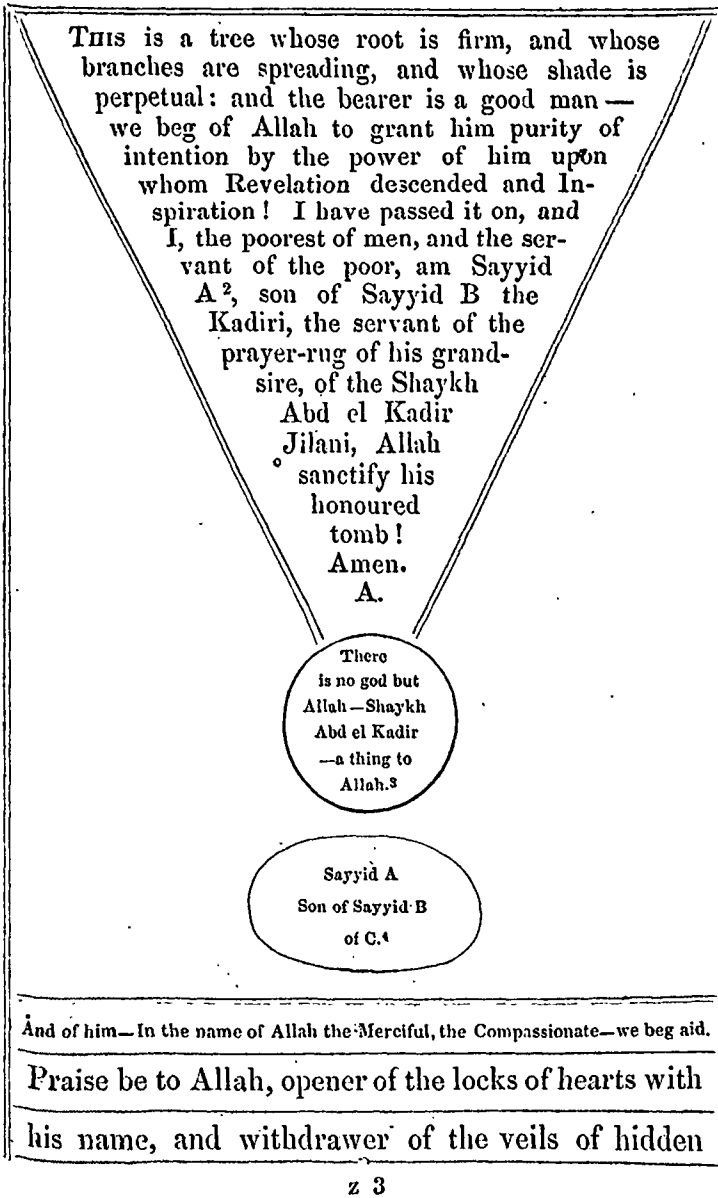
Thus, gentle reader, was spent my last night at El Medinah.

I had reason to congratulate myself upon having passed through the first danger. Meccah is so near the coast, that, in case of detection, the traveller might escape in a few hours to Jeddah,

where he would find an English vice-consul, protection from the Turkish authorities, and possibly a British cruiser in the harbour. But at El Medinah discovery would entail more serious consequences. The next risk to be run was the journey between the two cities, on which it would be easy for the local officials quietly to dispose of a suspected person by giving a dollar to a Bedouin.

# APPENDIX I.[1]

## SPECIMEN OF A MURSHID'S DIPLOMA, IN THE KADIRI ORDER OF THE MYSTIC CRAFT EL TASAWWUF.


This is a tree whose root is firm, and whose branches are spreading, and whose shade is perpetual: and the bearer is a good man — we beg of Allah to grant him purity of intention by the power of him upon whom Revelation descended and Inspiration! I have passed it on, and I, the poorest of men, and the servant of the poor, am Sayyid A[2], son of Sayyid B the Kadiri, the servant of the prayer-rug of his grandsire, of the Shaykh Abd el Kadir Jilani, Allah sanctify his honoured tomb! Amen. A.
There is no god but Allah—Shaykh Abd el Kadir—a thing to Allah.[3]
Sayyid A
Son of Sayyid B
of C.[4]
And of him—In the name of Allah the Merciful, the Compassionate—we beg aid.
Praise be to Allah, opener of the locks of hearts with
his name, and withdrawer of the veils of hidden

[1] This document is written upon slips of paper pasted together, 4 feet 5 inches long, by about 6½ inches broad, and contains altogether 71 lines below the triangle. The divisions are in red ink. It rolls up, and fits into a cylinder of tin, to which are attached small silk cords, to sling it over the shoulder when travelling or on pilgrimage.

[2] The names are here omitted for obvious reasons.

[3] Facsimile of the seal of the great Abd el Kadir. This upon the document is a sign that the owner has become a master in the craft.

[4] This is the living Shaykh's seal, and is the only one applied to the apprentice's diploma.

things with his beneficence, and raiser of the flags of increase to those who persevere in thanking him. I praise him because that he hath made us of the people of Unity. And I thank him, being desirous of his benefits. And I bless and salute our Lord Mohammed, the best of his Prophets and of his Servants, and (I bless and salute) his (Mohammed's) family and companions, the excelling in dignity, for the increase of their dignity and its augmentation. But afterwards thus saith the needy slave, who confesseth his sins and his weakness and his faults, and hopeth for the pardon of his Lord the Almighty — Sayyid A the Kadiri, son of Sayyid B the Kadiri, son of Sayyid Abubekr the Kadiri, son of Sayyid Ismail the Kadiri, son of Sayyid Abd el Wahhab the Kadiri, son of Sayyid Nur el Din the Kadiri, son of Sayyid Darwaysh the Kadiri, son of Sayyid Husam el Din the Kadiri, son of Sayyid Nur el Din the Kadiri, son of Sayyid Waly el Din the Kadiri, son of Sayyid Zayn el Din the Kadiri, son of Sayyid Sharaf el Din the Kadiri, son of Sayyid Shams el Din the Kadiri, son of Sayyid Mohammed el Hattak, son of Sayyid Abd el Aziz, son of the

Sayyid of Sayyids, Polar-Star of Existence, the White Pearl; the Lord of the Reins of (worldly) possession, the Chief of (Allah's) friends, the incomparable Imam, the Essence negativing accidents, the Polar Star of Polar Stars [1], the Greatest Assistance [2], the Uniter of the Lover and the Beloved [3], the Sayyid (Prince), the Shaykh (Teacher), Muhiy el Din, Abd el Kadir of Jilan [4], Allah sanctify his honoured Sepulchre, and Allah enlighten his place of rest! — Son of Abu Salih Musa Jangi-dost, son of Sayyid Abdullah el Jayli, son of Sayyid Yahya el Zahid, son of Sayyid Mohammed, son of Sayyid Daud, son of Sayyid Musa, son of Sayyid Abdullah, son of Sayyid Musa el Juni, son of Sayyid Abdullah el Mahz, son of Sayyid Hasan el Musanna [5], son of the Imam Hasan, son of the Imam and the Amir of True Believers, Ali the son of Abu Talib — may Allah be satisfied with him! — Son of Abd el Muttaleb [6], son of Hashim, son of Abd el Manaf, son of Kusay, son of Kilab, son of Murrat, son of Kaab, son of Luwiyy, son of Ghalib, son of Fihr (Kuraysh), son of Malik, son of Nazr, son of Kananah, son of Khuzaymah, son of Mudrikah, son of Iliyas, son of

[1] Or Prince of Princes, a particular degree in Tasawuf.

[2] Ghaus (Assistance) also means a person who, in Tasawuf, has arrived at the highest point to which fervour of devotion leads.

[3] The human soul, and its supreme source.

[4] For a short notice of this celebrated mystic, see d'Herbelot, "Abdalcader."

[5] "Hasan the Second," from whom sprung the Sherifs of El Hejaz.

[6] Father to Abdullah, father of Mohammed.

Muzarr, son of Nizar, son of Adnan[1], son of Ada, son of Udad, son of Mahmisah, son of Hamal, son of Nayyit, son of Kuzar, son of Ismail, son of Ibrahim, son of Karikh, son of Kasir, son of Arghwa, son of Phaligh, son of Shalikh, son of Kaynan, son of Arfakhshad, son of Sam, son of Noah, son of Shays, son of Adam the Father of Mankind[2]— with whom be peace, and upon our Prophet the best of blessings and salutation! — and Adam was of dust, and dust is of the earth, and earth is of foam, and foam is of the wave, and the wave is of water[3], and water is of the rainy firmament, and the rainy firmament is of Power, and Power is of Will, and Will is of the Omniscience of the glorious God. But afterwards that good man, the approaching to his Lord, the averse to all besides him, the desirous of the abodes of futurity, the hoper for mercy, the Dervish Abdullah[4], son of the Pilgrim Joseph the Afghan, — henceforward let him be known by the name of "Dervish King-in-the-name-of-Allah!" — hath come to us and visited us and begged of us instruction in the Saying of Unity. I therefore taught him the saying which I learned by ordinance from my Shaykh and my instructor and

[1] Dated by M. C. de Perceval about 130 years B. C.

[2] Thus, between Adnan and Adam we have eighteen generations! El Wakidi and El Tabari give forty between Adnan and Ishmael, which Ibn Khaldun, confirmed by M. C. de Perceval, thinks is too small a number. The text, however, expresses the popular estimate. But it must be remembered that the Prophet used to say, "beyond Adnan none but Allah knoweth, and the genealogists lie."

[3] Moslems cleaving to the Neptunian theory of earthy origin.

[4] Your humble servant, gentle reader.

my paternal uncle the Sayyid the Shaykh Abd el Kadir [1] the Kadiri, son of the Sayyid the Shaykh Abubekr the Kadiri, son of the Sayyid the Shaykh Ismail the Kadiri, son of the Sayyid the Shaykh Abd el Wahhab the Kadiri, son of Sayyid the Shaykh Nur el Din the Kadiri, son of the Sayyid the Shaykh Shahdarwaysh the Kadiri, son of the Sayyid the Shaykh Husam el Din the Kadiri, son of the Sayyid the Shaykh Nur el Din the Kadiri, from his sire and Shaykh Waly el Din the Kadiri, from his sire and Shaykh Zayn el Din the Kadiri, from his sire and Shaykh Sharafel el Din the Kadiri, from his sire and Shaykh Mohammed el Hattak the Kadiri, from his sire and Shaykh Abd el Aziz — Allah sanctify his honoured Sepulchre and Allah enlighten his place of rest! — from his sire and Shaykh Sayyid the Polar Star of existence, the White Pearl, the Polar Star of Holy Men, the Director of those that tread the path, the Sayyid the Shaykh Muhiyy el Din Abd el Kadir of Jilan — Allah sanctify his honoured Sepulchre and Allah enlighten his place of rest! Amen! — from his Shaykh the Shaykh Abu-Said el Mubarak el Makhzumi, from his Shaykh the Shaykh Abu 'l Hasan el Hankari,

[1] The former genealogy proved my master to be what is technically called "Khalifah Jaddi," or hereditary in his dignity. The following table shows that he is also "Khulfai" (adopted to succeed), and gives the name and the descent of the holy man who adopted him.

from his Shaykh the Shaykh Abu Faras el Tarsusi, from his Shaykh the Shaykh Abd el Wahid el Tamimi, from his Shaykh the Shaykh Abu 'l Kasim el Junayd of Baghdad, from his Shaykh the Shaykh el Sirri el Sakati, from his Shaykh the Shaykh el Maaruf el Karkhi, from his Shaykh the Shaykh Daud el Tai, from his Shaykh the Shaykh Habib el Ajemi, from his Shaykh the Shaykh el Hasan of Bussorah, from his Shaykh the Prince of True Believers, Ali Son of Abu Talib — Allah be satisfied with him! and Allah honour his countenance! — from the Prophet of Allah, upon whom may Allah have mercy, from Jibrail, from the Omnipotent, the Glorious. And afterwards we taught him (*i. e.* that good man Abdullah) the Saying of Unity, and ordered its recital 165 times after each Farizah [1], and on all occasions according to his capability. And Allah have mercy upon our Lord Mohammed and upon his family and upon his companions one and all! And Praise be to Allah, Lord of the (3) worlds!

It is finished.

There is no god but Allah!

Number [2]

165.

[1] Each obligatory prayer is called a Farizah. The Shaykh therefore directs the Saying of Unity, *i. e.* La ilaha ill' Allah, to be repeated 825 times per diem.

[2] *i. e.* number of repetitions after each obligatory prayer.

# APPENDIX II.

## THE NAVIGATION AND VOYAGES OF LUDOVICUS VERTOMANNUS, GENTLEMAN OF ROME. A.D. 1503.

THE first of the pilgrims to Meccah and El Medinah who has left an authentic account of the Holy Cities is "Lewes Wertomannus (Lodovico Bartema), gentelman of the citie of Rome."* "If any man," says this *aucthor*, "shall demand of mé the cause of this my voyage, certeynely I can shewe no better reason than is the ardent desire of knowledge, which hath moved many other to see the world and the miracles of God therein." In the year of our Lord 1503 he departed from Venice "with prosperous wynds," arrived at Alexandria and visited Babylon of Egypt, Berynto, Tripoli, Antioch, and Damascus. He started from the latter place on the 8th of April, 1503, "in familiaritie and friendshyppe

* I have consulted the "Navigation and Voyages of Lewes Wertomannus to the Regions of Arabia, Egypt, Persia, Syria, Ethiopia, and East India, both within and without the River of Ganges, etc., conteyning many notable and straunge things both Historicall and Natural. Translated out of Latine into Englyshe by Richarde Eden. In the year of our Lord, 1576."—(*Hakluyst's Voyages*, vol. iv.) The curious reader will also find the work in Purchas (*Pilgrimmes and Pilgrimage*, vol. ii.) and Ramusio (*Raccolta delle Navigasioni e Viaggi*, tom. i.). The Travels of Bartema were first published at Milan, A.D. 1511., and the first English translation appeared in Willes and Eden's *Decades*, 4to. A.D. 1555.

with a certayne Captayne Mameluke" (which term he applies to "al such Christians as have forsaken theyr fayth, to serve the Mahumetans and Turks"), and in the garb of a "Mamaluchi renegado." He estimates the Damascus caravan to consist of 40,000 men and 35,000 camels, nearly six times its present number.* On the way they were "enforced to conflict with a great multitude of the Arabians;" but the three score mamelukes composing their escort were more than a match for 50,000 Bedouins. On one occasion the caravan, attacked by 24,000 Arabians, slew 1500 of the enemies, losing in the conflict only a man and a woman.† This "marveyle"—which is probably not without some exaggeration—he explains by the "strength and valiantness of the Mamalukes," by the practice (still popular) of using the "camelles in the steede of a bulwarke, and placing the merchaunts in the myddest of the army (that is), in the myddest of the camelles, whyle the pilgrims fought manfully on every side;" and, finally, by the circumstance that the Arabs were unarmed, and "weare only a thynne loose vesture, and are besyde almost naked: theyr horses also beyng euyll furnished, and without saddles or other furniture." The Hejazi Bedouin of this day is a much more dangerous enemy; the matchlock and musket have made him so; and the only means of crippling him is to pre-

* The number of pilgrims in this caravan is still grossly exaggerated. I cannot believe that it contains more than 7000 of both sexes, and all ages.

† This may confirm Strabo's account of Œlius Gallus' loss, after a conflict with a host of Arabs — two Roman soldiers. Mons. Jomard, noticing the case, pleasantly remarks, that the two individuals in question are to be pitied for their extreme ill-luck.

vent the importation of fire-arms and lead, and by slow degrees to disarm the population. After performing the ceremonies of pilgrimage at El Medinah and Meccah, he escaped to Zida or Gida (Jeddah), "despite the trumpetter of the caravana giving warning to all the Mamalukes to make readie their horses, to direct their journey toward Syria, with proclamation of death to all that shoulde refuse so to doe," and embarked for Persia upon the Red Sea. He touched at certain ports of Yemen, and got into trouble at Aden, "where the Mahumetans took him," and "put shackles on his legges, which came by occasion of a certayne idolatour, who cryed after him, saying, O, Christian Dogge, borne of Dogges."* The lieutenant of the Sultan "assembled his council," consulted them about putting the traveller to death as a "spye of Portugales," and threw him ironed into a dungeon. On being carried shackled into the presence of the Sultan, Bartema said that he was a "Roman, professed a Mamaluke in Babylon of Alcayr;" but when told to utter the formula of the Moslem faith, he held his tongue, "eyther that it pleased not God, or that for feare and scruple of conscience he durst not." For which offence he was again "deprived of ye fruition of heaven."

* This venerable form of abuse still survives the lapse of time, One of the first salutations reaching the ears of the "Overlands" at Alexandria is some little boy's—

Ya Nasrani
Kalb awani, &c. &c.—
O Nazarene,
O dog obscene, &c. &c.

In Percy's Reliques we read of the Knight calling his Moslem opponent "unchristen hounde,"—a retort courteous to the "Christen hounde," previously applied to him by the "Pagan."

But, happily for Bartema, in those days the women of Arabia were "greatly in love with whyte men." Before escaping from Meccah, he lay hid in the house of a Mohammedan, and could not express his gratitude for the good wife's care; "also," he says, "this furthered my good enterteynement, that there was in the house a fayre young mayde, the niese of the Mahumetan, who was greatly in love with me." At Aden he was equally fortunate. One of the Sultan's three wives, on the departure of her lord and master, bestowed her heart upon the traveller. She was "very faire and comely, after theyr maner, and of colour inclynyng to blacke;" she would spend the whole day in beholding Bartema, who wandered about simulating madness*, and "in the meane season, divers tymes, sent him secretly muche good meate by her maydens." He seems to have played his part to some purpose, under the colour of madness, converting a "great fatt shepe" to Mohammedanism, killing an ass because he refused to be a proselyte, and, finally, he "handeled a Jewe so euyll that he had almost killed hym." After sundry adventures and a trip to Sanaa, he started for Persia with the Indian fleet, in which, by means of fair promises, he had made friendship with a certain captain. He visited Zayla and Berberah in the Somali country, and at last reached Hormuz. The 3rd book "entreateth of Persia," the 4th of "India, and of the cities

* For a full account of the mania fit I must refer the curious reader to the original (Book ii. chap. v.) The only mistake the traveller seems to have committed, was that, by his ignorance of the rules of ablution, he made men agree that he was "no sainct, but a madman."

and other notable thynges seene there." The 8th book contains the "voyage of India," in which he includes Pegu, Sumatra, Borneo, and Java, where, "abhorryng the beastly maners" of a cannibal population, he made but a short stay. Returning to Calicut, he used "great subtiltie," escaped to the "Portugales," and was well received by the viceroy. After describing in his 7th book the "viage or navigation of Ethiopia, Melinda, Mombaza, Mozambrich (Mozambique), and Zaphala (Sofala)," he passed the Cape called "Caput Bonæ Spei, and repaired to the goodly citie of Luxburne (Lisbon)," where he had the honour of kissing hands. The king confirmed with his great seal the "letters patentes," whereby his lieutenant the viceroy of India had given the pilgrim the order of knighthood. "And thus," says Bartema by way of conclusion, "departing from thence, with the kyngs pasporte and safe conducte, at the length after these my long and great trauayles and dangers, I came to my long desyred native countrey, the citie of Rome, by the grace of God, to whom be all honour and glory."

This old traveller's pages abound with the information to be collected in a fresh field by an unscrupulous and hard-headed observer. They are of course disfigured with a little romancing. His Jews at Khaybar, near El Medinah, were five or six spans long. At Meccah he saw two unicorns, the younger "at the age of one yeare, and lyke a young coolte; the horne of this is of the length of four handfuls.*" And so cre-

* He proceeds, however, to say that "the head is lyke a hart's," the "legges thynne and slender, lyke a fawne or hyde, the hoofs divided much like the feet of a goat; that they were sent from

dulous is he about anthropophagi, that he relates of Mahumet (son to the Sultan of Sanaa) how he "by a certayne naturall tyrannye and madnesse delyteth to eate man's fleeshe, and therefore secretly kylleth many to eate them."* But all things well considered, Lodovico Bartema, for correctness of observation and readiness of wit, stands in the foremost rank of the old oriental travellers.

I proceed to quote, and to illustrate with notes, the few chapters devoted in the 1st volume of this little-known work to Meccah and El Medinah.

CHAP. XI. — *Of a Mountayne inhabited with Jewes, and of the Citie of Medinathalnabi, where Mahumet was buried.*

In the space of eyght dayes we came to a mountayne which conteyneth in circuite ten or twelve myles. This is inhabited with Jewes, to the number of fyue thousande or thereabout. They are very little stature, as of the heyght of fiue or sixe spannes, and some muche lesse. They have small voyces lyke women, and of blacke colour, yet some blacker then other. They feede of none other meate than goates fleshe.† They are circumcised, and deny not themselues to be Jewes. If

Ethiopia (the Somali country), and were "shewed to the people for a myracle." They might, therefore, possibly have been African antelopes, which a *lusus naturæ* had deprived of their second horn. But the suspicion of fable remains.

* This is a tale not unfamiliar to the western world. Louis XI. of France was supposed to drink the blood of babes, — "*pour rajeunir sa veine epuisée.* The reasons in favour of such unnatural diet have been fully explained by the infamous M. de Sade.

† This is, to the present day, a food confined to the Bedouins.

by chaunce, any Mahumetan come into their handes, they flay him alyue. At the foot of the mountayne we founde a certayne hole, out of whiche flowed aboundance of water. By fyndyng this oportunitie, we laded sixtiene thousand camels; which thyng greatly offended the Jewes. They wandred in that mountayne, scattered lyke wylde goates or prickettes, yet durst they not come downe, partly for feare, and partly for hatred agaynst the Mahumetans. Beneath the mountaine are seene seuen or eyght thorne trees, very fayre, and in them we founde a payre of turtle doues, which seemed to vs in maner a miracle, hauyng before made so long journeyes, and sawe neyther beast nor foule. Then proceedyng two dayes journey, we came to a certayne citie name Medinathalnabi: foure myles from the said citie, we founde a well. Heere the carauana (that is, the whole hearde of camelles) rested. And remayning here one day, we washed ourselves, and chaunged our shertes, the more freshely to enter into the citie; it is well peopled, and conteyneth about three hundred houses; the walles are lyke bulwarkes of earth, and the houses both of stone and bricke. The soile about the citie is vtterly barren, except that about two myles from the citie are seene about fyftie palme trees that beare dates.* There, by a certayne garden, runneth a course of water fallyng into a lower playne, where also passingers are accustomed to water theyr camelles.† And here opportunitie now serueth to confute the

* This alludes to the gardens of Kuba. The number of date-trees is now greatly increased. (See Chap. xix.)

† The Ayn el Zarka, flowing from the direction of Kuba. (Chap. xviii.)

opinion of them whiche thynke that the arke or toombe of wicked Mahumet to hang in the ayre, not borne vp with any thyng. As touching which thyng, I am vtterly of an other opinion, and affirme this neyther to be true, nor to haue any lykenesse of trueth, as I presently behelde these thynges, and sawe the place where Mahumet is buried, in the said citie of Medinathalnabi: for we taryed there three dayes, to come to the true knowledge of all these thynges. When wee were desirous to enter into theyr Temple (which they call Meschita*, and all other churches by the same name), we coulde not be suffered to enter without a companion little or great. They taking vs by the hande, brought vs to the place where they saye Mahumet is buried.

CHAP. XII.— *Of the Temple or Chapell, and Sepulchre of Mahumet, and of his Felowes.*

His temple is vaulted, and is a hundred pases in length, fourescore in breadth; the entry into it is by two gates; from the sydes it is couered with three vaultes; it is borne vp with 4 hundred columnes or pillers of white brick; there are seene, hanging lampes, about the number of 3 thousande. From the other part of the temple in the first place of the Meschita, is seene a tower of the circuite of fyue pases vaulted on euery syde, and couered with a cloth or silk, and is borne vp with a grate of copper, curiously wrought and distant from it two pases: and of them that goe thyther, is seene as it were through a lattesse.† Towarde the lefte hande, is

* Masjid, a mosque.

† Nothing can be more correct than this part of Bartema's description.

the way to the tower, and when you come thyther, you must enter by a narower gate. On euery syde of those gates or doores, are seene many bookes in maner of a librarie, on the one syde 20, and on the other syde 25. These contayne the filthie traditions and lyfe of Mahumet and his fellowes: within the sayde gate is seene a sepulchre, (that is) a digged place, where they say Mahumet is buried and his felowes, which are theee, Nabi, Bubacar, Othomar, Aumar, and Fatoma*; but Mahumet was theyr chiefe captayne, and an Arabian borne. Hali was sonne in lawe to Mahumet, for he tooke to wyfe his daughter Fatoma. Bubacar is he who they say was exalted to the dignitie of a chiefe counseller and great gouernour, although he came not to the high degree of an apostle, or prophet, as dyd Mahumet. Othomar and Aumar were chief captaynes of the army of Mahumet. Euery of these haue their proper bookes of their factes and traditions. And hereof proceedeth the great dissention and discorde of religion and maners among this kynde of filthie men, whyle some confirm one doctrine, and some another, by reason of theyr dyuers sectes of Patrons, Doctours, and Saintes, as they call them. By this meanes are they marueylously diuided among themselues, and lyke beastes kyll themselues for such quarelles of dyuers opinions, and all false. This also is the chiefe cause of warre betweene the sophie of Persia and the great Turke,

* Nabi (the Prophet), Abubekr, Osman, Omar, and Fatimah. It was never believed that Osman was buried in the Prophet's mosque. This part of the description is utterly incorrect. The tombs are within the "tower" above-mentioned; and Bartema, in his 13th chapter, quoted below, seems to be aware of the fact.

being neuerthelesse both Mahumetans, and lyue in mortall hatred one agaynst the other for the mayntenaunce of theyr sectes, saintes and apostles, whyle euery of them thynketh theyr owne to bee best.

## CHAP. XIII.— *Of the Secte of Mahumet.*

Now will we speake of the maners and sect of Mahumet. Vnderstande, therefore, that in the highest part of the tower aforesayde, is an open round place. Now shall you vnderstande what crafte they vsed to deceyue our carauana. The first euenyng that we came thyther to see the sepulchre of Mahumet, our captayne sent for the chiefe priest of the temple to come to him, and when he came, declared vnto him that the only cause of his commyng thyther was to visite the sepulchre and bodie of Nabi, by which woord is signified the prophet Mahumet; and that he vnderstoode that the price to be admitted to the syght of these mysteries should be foure thousande seraphes of golde. Also that he had no parents, neyther brothers, sisters, kinsefolkes, chyldren, or wyues; neyther that he came thyther to buy merchaundies, as spices, or bacca, or nardus, or any maner of precious jewelles; but only for very zeale of religion and saluation of his soule, and was therefore greatly desirous to see the bodie of the prophet. To whom the priest of the temple (they call them Side), with countenance lyke one that were distraught*, made aunswere in this maner: "Darest thou with those eyes, with the which

* The request was an unconscionable one; and the "chief priest" knew that the body, being enclosed within four walls, could not be seen.

thou hast committed so many horrible sinnes, desyre to see him by whose sight God hath created heauen and earth? To whom agayne our captayne aunswered thus: "My Lord, you have sayde truely; neuerthelesse I pray you that I may fynde so much fauour with you, that I may see the Prophet; whom when I haue seene, I will immediately thrust out myne eyes." The Side aunswered, "O Prince, I will open all thynges vnto thee So it is that no man can denye but that our Prophet dyed heere, who, if he woulde, myght haue dyed at Mecha. But to shewe in himselfe a token of humilitie, and thereby to giue vs example to folowe him, was wyllyng rather heere then elsewhere to departe out of this worlde, and was incontinent of angelles borne into heauen, and there receyued as equall with them." Then our captayne sayde to him, "Where is Jesus Christus, the sonne of Marie?" To whom the Side answered, "At the feete of Mahumet."* Then sayde our captayne agayne: "It suffyceth, it suffyceth; I will knowe no more. After this our captayne commyng out of the temple, and turnyng to vs, sayd, "See (I pray you) for what goodly stuffe I would haue paide three thousande seraphes of golde." The same daye at euenyng, at almost three a clocke of the nyght, ten or twelue of the elders of the secte of Mahumet entered into our carauana, which remayned not paste a stone caste from the gate of the citie.†

* This is incorrect. "Hazrat Isa," after his second coming, will be buried in the Prophet's "Hujrah." But no Moslem ever believed that the founder of Christianity left his corpse in this world. (See Chap. xvi.)

† Most probably, in the Barr el Munakhah, where the Damascus caravan still pitches tents.

These ranne hyther and thyther, crying lyke madde men, with these wordes, "Mahumet, the messenger and Apostle of God, shall ryse agayne! O Prophet, O God, Mahumet shall ryse agayne! Have mercy on vs God!" Our captayne and we, all raysed with this crye, tooke weapon with all expedition, suspectyng that the Arabians were come to robbe our carauana; we asked what was the cause of that exclamation, and what they cryed? For they cryed as doe the Christians, when sodeynly any marueylous thyng chaunceth. The Elders answered, "Sawe you not the lyghtning whiche shone out of the sepulchre of the Prophet Mahumet?"* Our captayne answered that he sawe nothyng; and we also beying demaunded, answered in lyke maner. Then sayde one of the old men, "Are you slaues?" that is to say, bought men; meanyng thereby Mamalukes. Then sayde our captayne, "We are in deede Mamalukes." Then agayne the olde man sayde, "You, my Lordes, cannot see heauenly thinges, as beïng Neophiti, (that is) newly come to the fayth, and not yet confirmed in our religion." To this our captayne answered agayne, "O you madde and insensate beastes, I had thought to have giuen you three thousande peeces of golde; but now, O you dogges and progenie of dogges, I will gyue you nothing." It is therefore to bee vnderstoode, that none other shynyng came out of the sepulchre, then a certayne flame which the priests caused to come out of the open place of the towre † spoken of here before,

* This passage shows the antiquity of the still popular superstition which makes a light to proceed from the Prophet's tomb.

† It is unnecessary to suppose any deception of the kind. If only the "illuminati" could see this light, the sight would necessarily be confined to a very small number.

whereby they would haue deceyved vs. And therefore our captayne commaunded that thereafter none of vs should enter into the temple. Of this also we haue most true experience, and most certaynely assure you that there is neyther iron or steele or the magnes stone that should so make the toombe of Mahumet to hange in the ayre, as some haue falsely imagined; neyther is there any mountayne nearer than foure myles: we remayned here three dayes to refreshe our company. To this citie victualles and all kynde of corne is brought from Arabia Fælix, and Babylon or Alcayr, and also from Ethiope, by the Redde Sea, which is from this citie but four dayes journey.*

## Chap. XIV.— *The Journey to Mecha.*†

After that we were satisfied, or rather wearyed, with the filthinesse and lothesomenesse of the trumperyes, deceites, trifles, and hypocrisis of the religion of Mahumet, we determined to goe forward on our journey; and that by guyding of a pylot who might directe our course with the mariners boxe or compasse, with also the carde of the sea, euen as is vsed in sayling on the sea. And thus bendyng our journey to the west we founde a very fayre well or fountayne, from the which flowed great aboundance of water. The inhabitantes affyrme that Sainct Marke the Euangelist was the

* This account is correct. Cosseir, Suez, and Jeddah still supply El Medinah.

† It is impossible to distinguish from this description the route taken by the Damascus caravan in A.D. 1503. Of one thing only we may be certain, namely, that between El Medinah and Meccah there are no "Seas of Sand."

aucthour of this fountayne, by a miracle of God, when that region was in maner burned with incredible drynesse.* Here we and our beastes were satisfied with drynke. I, may not here omit to speake of the sea of sande, and of the daungers thereof. This was founde of vs before we came to the mountayne of the Jewes. In this sea of sande we traueiled the journey of three days and nightes: this is a great brode plaine, all couered with white sande, in maner as small as floure. If by euil fortune it so chaunce that any trauaile that way southward, if in the mean time the wind come to the north, they are ouerwhelmed with sande, that they scatter out of the way, and can scarsely see the one the other 10 pases of. And therefore the inhabitants trauayling this way, are inclosed in cages of woodde, borne with camels, and lyue in them †, so passing the jorney, guided by pilots with maryner's compasse and card, euen as on the sea, as we haue sayde. In this jorney also many peryshe for thirst, and many for drynkyng to muche, when they finde suche good waters. In these sandes is founde Momia, which is the fleshe of such men as are drowned in these sandes, and there dryed by the heate of the sunne: so that those bodyes are preserued from putrifaction by the drynesse of the sand; and therefore that drye fleshe is esteemed medicinable.‡ Albeit there is another kynde of more

* The name of St. Mark is utterly unknown in El Hejaz. Probably the origin of the fountain described in the text was a theory that sprang from the brains of the Christian Mamelukes.

† A fair description of the still favourite vehicles, the Shugduf, the Takhtrawan, and the Shibriyah. It is almost needless to say that the use of the mariner's compass is unknown to the guides in El Hejaz.

‡ Wonderful tales are still told about this same Momiya

pretious Momia, which is the dryed and embalmed bodies of kynges and princes, whiche of long tyme haue been preserued drye without corruption. When the wynde bloweth from the northeast, then the sand riseth and is driuen against a certayne mountayne which is an arme of the mount Sinai.* There we found certayne pyllers artificially wrought, whiche they call Ianuan. On the lefte hande of the sayde mountayne, in the toppe or rydge thereof, is a denne, and the entrie into it is by an iron gate. Some fayne that in that place Mahumet lyued in contemplation. Here we heard a certayne horrible noyse and crye; for passyng the sayde mountayne, we were in so great daunger, that we thought neuer to have escaped. Departyng, therefore, from the fountayne, we continued our journey for the space of 10 dayes, and twyse in the way fought with fyftie thousande Arabians, and so at the length came to the citie of Mecha, where al thinges were troubled by reason of the warres betweene two brethren, contendyng whiche of them shoulde possesse the kyngedome of Mecha.

CHAP. XV.—*Of the Fourme and Situation of the Citie of Mecha: and why the Mohumetans resort thyther.*

Nowe the tyme requireth to speake somewhat

(mummy). I was assured by an Arab physician, that he had broken a fowl's leg, and bound it tightly with a cloth containing man's dried flesh, which caused the bird to walk about, with a sound shank, on the second day.

* This is probably Jebil Warkan, on the Derb el Sultani, or Sea road to Meccah. For the Moslem tradition about its Sinaitic origin, see Chap. xx.

of the famous citie of Mecha, or Mecca, what it is, howe it is situate, and by whom it is gouerned. The citie is very fayre and well inhabited, and conteyneth in rounde fourme syxe thousande houses, as well buylded as ours, and some that cost three or foure thousande peeces of golde: it hath no walles. About two furlongs from the citie is a mount, where the way is cutte out*, whiche leadeth to a playne beneath. It is on euery syde fortified with mountains, in the stead of walles or bulwarkes, and hath foure entries. The Gouernour is a Soltan, and one of the foure brethren of the progenie of Mahumet, and is subject to the Soltan of Babylon of whom we haue spoken before. His other three brethren be at continuall warre with hym. The 18 daye of Maye we entered into the citie by the north syde; then, by a declynyng way, we came into a playne. On the south syde are two mountaynes, the one very neere the other, distant onely by a little valley, which is the way that leadeth to the gate of Mecha. On the east syde is an open place betweene two mountaynes, lyke vnto a valley †, and is the waye to the mountayne where they sacrifice to the Patriarkes Abraham and Isaac.‡ This mountayne is from the cite about 10 or 12 myles, and of the heyght of three stones cast: it is of stone as harde as marble, yet no marble.§ In the toppe of the mountaine is

* The Saniyah Kuda, a pass opening upon the Meccah plain. Here two towers are now erected.

† This is the open ground leading to the Muna Pass.

‡ An error. The sacrifice is performed at Muna, not on Arafat, the mountain here alluded to.

§ The material is a close grey granite.

a temple or Meschita, made after their fashion, and hath three wayes to enter into it.* At the foote of the mountayne are two cesterns, which conserue waters without corruption: of these, the one is reserued to minister water to the camels of the carauana of Babylon or Alcayr; and the other, for them of Damasco. It is rayne water; and is deriued far of.†

But to returne to speake of the citie; for as touchyng the maner of sacrifice which they vse at the foote of the mountayne wee wyll speake hereafter. Entryng, therefore, into the citie, wee founde there the carauana of Memphis, or Babylon, which prevented vs eyght dayes, and came not the waye that wee came. This carauana conteyned threescore and foure thousande camelles, and a hundred Mamalukes to guyde them. And here ought you to consyder that, by the opinion of all men, this citie is greatly cursed of God, as appereth by the great barrennesse thereof, for it is destitute of all maner of fruites and corne.‡ It is scorched with drynesse for lacke of water, and therefore the water is there growen to suche pryce, that you cannot for twelue pence buye as much water as wyll satysfie your thyrst for one day. Nowe, therefore, I wyll declare what prouision they have for victuales. The most part is brought them from the citie of Babylon, otherwyse named Memphis, Cayrus, or Alcayr, a citie of the ryuer of Nilus in

* The form of the building has now been changed.

† The Meccans have a tradition concerning it, that it is derived from Baghdad.

‡ Moslems who are disposed to be facetious on serious subjects, often remark that it is a mystery why Allah should have built his house in a spot so barren and desolate.

Egypt, as we have sayde before, and is brought by the Red Sea (called Mare Erythreum) from a certayne port named Gida, distaunt from Mecha fourtie myles.* The rest of theyr prouisions is brought from Arabia Fælix, (that is) the happye or blessed Arabia: so named for the fruitfulnesse thereof, in respect of the other two Arabiaes, called Petrea and Diserta, that is, stonye and desart. They haue also muche corne from Ethyopia. Here we found a marueylous number of straungers and peregrynes, or pylgryms; of the whiche some came from Syria, some from Persia, and other from both the East Indiaes, (that is to say) both India within the ryuer of Ganges, and also the other India without the same ryuer. I neuer sawe in anye place greater abundaunce and frequentation of people, forasmuche as I could perceyue by tarrying there the space of 20 dayes. These people resort thyther for diuers causes, as some for merchandies, some to obserue theyr vowe of pylgrymage, and other to haue pardon for theyr sinnes: as touchyng the whiche we wyll speake more hereafter.

CHAP. XVII.—*Of the Pardons or Indulgences of Mecha.*

Let vs now returne to speake of the pardons of pilgryms, for the which so many strange nations resort thither. In the myddest of the citie is a temple, in fashyon lyke vnto the colossus of Rome, the amphitheatrum, I meane, lyke vnto a stage, yet not of marbled or hewed stones, but of burnt bryckes; for this

* This is still correct. Suez supplies Jeddah with corn and other provisions.

temple, like vnto an amphitheatre, hath fourescore and ten, or an hundred gates*, and is vaulted. The entrance is by a discent of twelve stayers or degrees on euery part †: in the church porche, are sold only jewels and precious stones. In the entry the gylted walles shyne on euery syde with incomparable splendour. In the lower part of the temple (that is vnder the vaulted places) is seene a maruelous multitude of men; for there are fyue or sixe thousande men that sell none other thyng then sweete oyntmentes, and especially a certayne odoriferous and most sweete ponder wherewith dead bodyes are embalmed.‡ And hence, all maner of sweete sauours are carried in maner into the countreys of all the Mahumetans. It passeth all beleefe to thynke of the exceedyng sweetnesse of these sauours, farre surmounting the shoppes of the apothecaries. The 23 daye of Maye the pardones began to be graunted in the temple, and in what maner we wyll nowe declare. The temple in the myddest is open without any inclosyng, and in the myddest also thereof is a turrett of the largnesse of syxe passes in cercuitie §, and inuolued or hanged

* A prodigious exaggeration. Burckhardt enumerates twenty. The principal gates are seventeen in number. In the old building they were more numerous. Jos. Pitts says, "it hath about forty-two doors to enter into it;—not so much, I think, for necessity, as figure; for in some places they are close by one another.

† Bartema alludes, probably, to the Bab el Ziyadah, in the northern enceinte.

‡ I saw nothing of the kind, though constantly in the Haram at Meccah.

§ "The Kaabah is an oblong massive structure, 18 paces in length, 14 in breadth, and from 35 to 40 feet in height." (*Burckhardt*, vol. i. p. 248.) My measurements, concerning which more hereafter, gave 18 paces in breadth, and 22 in length.

with cloth or tapestry of sylke*, and passeth not the heyght of a man. They enter into the turret by a gate of syluer, and is on euery syde besette with vesselles full of balme. On the day of Pentecost licence is graunted to al men to se these thynges. The inhabitantes affyrm that balme or balsame to be part of the treasure of the Soltan that is Lorde of Mecha. At euery vaulte of the turret is fastened a rounde circle of iron, lyke to the ryng of a doore.† The 22 day of Maye, a great multitude of people beganne, early in the mornyng before day, seuen tymes to walke about the turret, kyssing euery corner thereof, often tymes feelyng and handelyng them. From this turret about tenne or twelue pases is an other turret, like a chappell buylded after our maner. This hath three or foure entryes: in the myddest thereof is a well of threescore and tenne cubites deepe; the water of this well is infected with salt peter or saltniter.‡ Egypt men are therevnto appoynted to drawe water for all the people: and when a multitude of people haue seuen tymes gone rounde about the first turret, they come to this well, and touchyng the mouth or brym thereof, they saye thus, "Be it in the honour of God; God pardon me, and forgeue me my synnes." When these woordes are sayde, they that drawe the water powre three buckettes of water on the headdes of euery one of them, and stand neere about the well, and washe them all wette from the headde to the foote, although they

* In ancient times possibly it was silk: now, it is of silk and cotton mixed.

† These are the brazen rings which serve to fasten the lower edge of the kiswah, or covering.

‡ A true description of the water of the well Zemzem.

be apparelled with sylk. Then the dotyng fooles dreame that they are cleane from all theyr synnes, and that theyr synnes are forgeuen them. They saye furthermore, that the fyrst turret, whereof we haue spoken, was the fyrst house that euer Abraham buylded, and, therefore, whyle they are yet all wette of the sayd washyng, they go to the mountayne, where (as we have sayde before) they are accustomed to sacrifice to Abraham.* And remaining there two daies, they make the said sacrifice to Abraham at the foote of the mountayne.

## CHAP. XVIII.—*The Maner of sacrificing at Mecha.*

Forasmuche as for the most parte noble spirites are delyted with nouelties of great and straunge thyngs, therefore, to satisfie their expectation, I wyll describe theyr maner of sacrifycyng. Therefore, when they intend to sacrifice, some of them kyll three sheepe, some foure, and some tenne; so that the butcherie sometyme so floweth with blood that in one sacrifice are slayne above three thousande sheepe. They are slayne at the rysyng of the sunne, and shortly after are distributed to the poore for God's sake: for I sawe there a great and confounded multitude of poor people, as to the number of 20 thousande. These make many and long dyches in the feeldes, where they keepe fyre with camels doong, and rost or seeth

* There is great confusion in this part of Bartema's narrative. On the 9th of Zu'l Hijjah, the pilgrims leave Mount Arafat. On the 10th, many hasten into Meccah, and enter the Kaabah. They then return to the valley of Muna, where their tents are pitched, and sacrifice the victims. On the 12th, the tents are struck, and the pilgrims re-enter Meccah.

the fleshe that is geuen them, and eate it euen there. I beleue that these poore people come thither rather for hunger then for deuotion, which I thinke by this coniectur,—that great abundance of cucumbers are brought thyther from Arabia Fælix, whiche they eate, castyng away the parynges without their houses or tabernacles, where a multitude of the sayde poore people geather them euen out of the myre and sande, and eate them, and are so greedie of these parynges that they fyght who may geather most.* The daye folowing †, their Cadi (which are in place with them as with vs the preachers of God's worde) ascended into a hygh mountayne, to preach to the people that remaineth beneath; and preached to them in theyr language the space of an houre. The summe of the sermon was, that with teares they shoulde bewayle theyr sinnes, and beate their brestes with sighes and lamentation. And the preacher hymselfe with loude voyce spake these wordes, "O Abraham beloued of God, O Isaac chosen of God, and his friend, praye to God for the people of Nabi." When these woordes were sayde, sodenly were heard lamenting voyces. When the sermon was done, a rumor was spredde that a great armye of Arabians, to the number of twentie thousande, were commyng. With which newes, they that kept

* This well describes the wretched state of the poor "Takruri," and other Africans, but it attributes to them an unworthy motive. I once asked a learned Arab what induced the wretches to rush upon destruction, as they do, when the Faith renders pilgrimage obligatory only upon those who can afford necessaries for the way. "By Allah," he replied, "there is fire within their hearts, which can be quenched only at God's House, and His Prophet's Tomb."

† Bartema alludes to the "Day of Arafat," 9th of Zu'l Hijjah, which precedes, not follows, the "Day of Sacrifice."

the carauanas beyng greatly feared, with all speede, lyke madde men, fledde into the citie of Mecha, and we agayne bearyng newes of the Arabians approche, fledde also into the citie. But whyle wee were in the mydwaye betweene the mountayne and Mecha, we came by a despicable wall, of the breadth of foure cubites: the people passyng this wall, had couered the waye with stones, the cause whereof, they saye to be this: when Abraham was commaunded to sacrifice his sonne, he wylled his sonne Isaac to folowe hym to the place where he should execute the commaundement of God. As Isaac went to folowe his father, there appeared to him in the way a Deuyl, in lykenesse of a fayre and freendly person, not farre from the sayde wall, and asked hym freendlye whyther he went. Isaac answered that he went to his father who tarryed for hym. To this the enimie of mankynde answered, that it was best for hym to tarrye, and yf that he went anye further, his father would sacrifice him. But Isaac nothyng feareyng this aduertisement of the Deuyl, went forward, that his father on hym myght execute the commaundement of God: and with this answere (as they saye) they Deuyell departed. Yet as Isaac went forwarde, the Diuell appeared to hym agayne in the lykenesse of an other frendlye person, and forbade hym as before. Then Isaac takyng vp a stone in that place, hurlde it at the Deuyl and wounded hym in the forehead: In witnesse and remembraunce whereof, the people passyng that waye when they come neare the wall, are accustomed to cast stones agaynst it, and from thence go into the

citie.* As we went this way, the ayre was in maner darkened with a multitude of stock doues. They saye that these doues, are of the progenie of the doue that spake in the eare of Mahumet, in lykenesse of the Holye Ghost.†. These are seene euery where, as in the villages, houses, tauernes and graniers of corne and ryse, and are so tame that one can scharsely dryue them away. To take them or kyll them is esteemed a thyng worthy death‡, and therefore a certayne pensyon is geuen to nourysshe them in the temple.

CHAP. XX.— *Of diuers thynges which chaunced to me in Mecha; and of Zida, a port of Mecha.*

It may seeme good here to make mention of certayne thynges, in the which is seene sharpenesse of witte in case of vrgent necessitie, which hath no lawe as sayeth the prouerbe, for I was dryuen to the point howe I

* Bartema alludes to the "Shaytan el Kabir," the "great devil," as the buttress at El Muna is called. His account of Satan's appearance is not strictly correct. Most Moslems believe that Abraham threw the stone at the "Rajim,"—the lapidated one; but there are various traditions upon the subject.

† A Christian version of an obscure Moslem legend about a white dove alighting on the Prophet's shoulder, and appearing to whisper in his ear whilst he was addressing a congregation. Butler alludes to it:—

"Th' apostles of this fierce religion,
Like Mahomet's, were ass and widgeon;"

the latter word being probably a clerical error for pigeon. When describing the Kaabah, I shall have occasion to allude to the "blue-rocks" of Meccah.

‡ No one would eat the pigeons of the Kaabah; but in other places, El Medinah, for instance, they are sometimes used as articles of food.

myght priuely escape from Mecha. Therefore whereas my Captayne gaue me charge to buy certayne thynges, as I was in the market place, a certayne Mamaluke knewe me to be a christian, and therefore in his owne language spake vnto me these woordes, "Inte mename," that is, whence art thou?* To whom I answered that I was a Mahumetan. But he sayde, Thou sayest not truely. I sayde agayne, By the head of Mahumet I am a Mahumetan. Then he sayde agayne, Come home to my house, I folowed hym willingly. When we were there, he began to speake to me in the Italian tongue, and asked me agayne from whence I was, affyrming that he knewe me, and that I was no Mahumetan: also that he had been sometyme in Genua and Venice. And that his woordes myght be better beleeued, he rehearsed many thinges which testified that he sayed trueth. When I vnderstoode this, I confessed freely, that I was a Romane, but professed to the fayth of Mahumet in the citie of Babylon, and there made one of the Mamalukes; whereof he seemed greatly to reioyce and therefore vsed me honourably. But because my desyre was yet to goe further, I asked the Mahumetan whether that citie of Mecha was so famous as all the world spake of it: and inquired of him where was the great aboundaunce of pearles, precious stones, spices, and other rich merchandies that the bruite went of to be in that citie. And all my talke was to the ende to grope the mynde of the Mahumetan, that I might know the cause why such thinges were not brought thyther as in tyme paste. But to auoyde all suspition, I durst here make

* In the vulgar dialect, "Ant min ayn?"

no mention of the dominion which the Kyng of Portugale had in the most parte of that ocean, and of the gulfes of the Redde Sea and Persia. Then he began with more attentyue mynde, in order to declare vnto me the cause why that marte was not so greatly frequented as it had been before, and layde the only faulte thereof in the Kyng of Portugale. But when he had made mention of the kyng, I began of purpose to detracte his fame, lest the Mahumetan might thinke that I reioyced that the Christians came thyther for merchandies. When he perceyued that I was of profession an enemy to the Christians, he had me yet in greater estimation, and proceeded to tell me many thynges more. When I was well instructed in all thynges, I spake vnto him friendly these woordes in the Mahumet's language Menaba Menalhabi, that is to say, "I pray you assist mee."* He asked mee wherein. "To help me (sayed I) howe I may secretly departe hence." Confyrmyng by great othes, that I would goe to those kinges that were most enemies to the Christians: affyrmyng furthermore, that I knewe certayne secretes greatly to be esteemed, which if they were knowen to the sayde kynges, I doubted not but that in shorte tyme I should bee sent for from Mecha. Astonyshed at these woordes, he sayde vnto mee, I pray you what arte or secrete doe you know? I answered, that I would giue place to no man in makyng of all maner of gunnes and artillerie. Then sayde hee, "prayse be Mahumet who sent thee hyther, to do

* I confess inability to explain these words: the printer has probably done more than the author to make them unintelligible. "Atamannik minalnabi," in vulgar and rather corrupt Arabic, would mean "I beg you (to aid me) for the sake of the Prophet."

hym and his saintes good seruice:" and willed me to remayne secretly in his house with his wyfe, and requyred me earnestly to obtayne leaue of our Captayne that under his name he myght leade from Mecha fifteine camelles laden with spices, without paying any custome: for they ordinarily paye to the Soltan thirtie seraphes* of golde, for transportyng of such merchandies for the charge of so many camelles. I put him in good hope of his request, he greatly reioyced, although he would aske for a hundred, affyrmyng that might easily be obteyned by the priuileges of the Mamalukes, and therefore desyred hym that I might safely remayne in his house. Then nothyng doubtyng to obtayne his request, he greatly reioyced, and talkyng with me yet more freely, gaue me further instructions and counsayled me to repayre to a certayne kyng of the greater India, in the kyngdome and realme of Decham† whereof we will speake hereafter. Therefore the day before the carauana departed from Mecha, he willed me to lye hydde in the most secrete parte of his house. The day folowyng, early in the mornyng the trumpetter of the carauana gaue warning to all the Mamalukes to make readie their horses, to directe their journey toward Syria, with proclamation of death to all that shoulde refuse so to doe. When I hearde the sounde of the trumpet, and was aduertised of the streight commaundement, I was marueylously troubled in minde, and with heauy countenaunce desired the Mahumetans wife not to bewraye me, and with earnest prayer committed myselfe to the mercie of God. On

* Ashrafi, ducats. † The Deccan.

the Tuesday folowyng, our carauana departed from Mecha, and I remayned in the Mahumetans house with his wyfe, but he folowed the carauana. Yet before he departed, he gaue commaundement to his wyfe to bryng me to the carauana, which shoulde departe from Zida * the porte of Mecha to goe into India. This porte is distant from Mecha 40 miles. Whilest I laye thus hyd in the Mahumetans house, I can not expresse how friendly his wyfe vsed me. This also furthered my good enterteynement, that there was in the house a fayre young mayde, the niese of the Mahumetan, who was greatly in loue with me. But at that tyme, in the myddest of those troubles and feare, the fyre of Venus was almost extincte in mee: and therefore with daliaunce of fayre woordes and promises, I styll kepte my selfe in her fauour. Therefore the Friday folowyng, about noone tyde, I departed, folowyng the carauana of India. And about myd nyght we came to a certayne village of the Arabians, and there remayned the rest of that nyght, and the next day tyll noone.

From hence we went forwarde on our journey toward Zida, and came thyther in the silence of the nyght. This citie hath no walles, yet fayre houses, somewhat after the buyldyng of Italie. Here is great aboundaunce of all kynd of merchandies, by reason of resorte in maner of all nations thyther, excepte jewes and christians, to whom it is not lawfull to come thyther. As soone as I entered into the citie, I went to their temple or Meschita, whe e I sawe a great multi-

* Jeddah.

tude of poore people, as about the number of 25 thousande, attendyng a certayne pilot who should bryng them into their countrey. Heere I suffered muche trouble and affliction, beyng enforced to hyde myselfe among these poore folkes, fayning myselfe very sicke, to the ende that none should be inquisityue what I was, whence I came, or whyther I would. The lord of this citie is the Soltan of Babylon, brother to the Soltan of Mecha, who is his subiecte. The inhabitauntes are Mahumetans. The soyle is vnfruitfull, and lacketh freshe water. The sea beateth agaynst the towne. There is neuerthelesse aboundance of all thinges: but brought thyther from other places, as from Babylon of Nilus, Arabia Fœlix, and dyuers other places. The heate is here so great, that men are in maner dryed up therewith. And therefore there is euer a great number of sicke folkes. The citie conteyneth about fyue hundred houses.

After fyftiene dayes were past, I couenaunted with a pilot, who was ready to departe from thence into Persia, and agreed of the price, to goe with him. There lay at anker in the hauen almost a hundred brigantines and foistes*, with diuers boates and barkes of sundry sortes, both with ores and without ores. Therefore after three days, gyuyng wynde to our sayles, we entered into the Redde Sea, otherwise named Mare Erythræum.

* A foist, foyst or buss was a kind of felucca, partially decked.

# APPENDIX III.

## THE PILGRIMAGE OF JOSEPH PITTS TO MECCAH AND EL MEDINAH. — A. D. 1680.

OUR second pilgrim was Jos. Pitts of Exon *, a youth 15 or 16 years old, when in A. D. 1678, his genius "leading him to be a sailor and to see foreign countries," caused him to be captured by an Algerine pirate. After living in slavery for some years, he was taken by his "patroon" to Meccah and El Medinah *viâ* Alexandria, Rosetta, Cairo and Suez. His description of these places is accurate in the main points, and, though tainted with prejudice and bigotry, he is free from superstition and credulity. Conversant with Turkish and Arabic, he has acquired more knowledge of the tenets and practice of El Islam than his predecessor, and the term of his residence at Algier, fifteen

* It is curious, as Crichton (Arabia, vol. ii. p. 208.) observes, that Gibbon seems not to have seen or known anything of the little work published by Pitts on his return home. It is entitled "A faithful Account of the Religion and the Manners of the Mahometans, in which is a particular Relation of their Pilgrimage to Mecca, the Place of Mahomet's Birth, and Description of Medina, and of his Tomb there," &c., &c. My copy is the 4th edition, printed for T. Longman and R. Hett, London, A. D. 1708. The only remarkable feature in the "getting up" of the little octavo is, that the engraving headed "the most sacred and antient Temple of the Mahometans at Mecca," is the reverse of the impression.

years, sufficed, despite the defects of his education, to give fulness and finish to his observations. His chief patroon, captain of a troop of horse, was a profligate and debauched man in his time, and a murderer, "who determined to proselyte a Christian slave as an atonement for past impieties." He began by large offers and failed; he succeeded by dint of a great cudgel repeatedly applied to Joseph Pitts' bare feet. "I roared out," says the relator, "to feel the pain of his cruel strokes, but the more I cried, the more furiously he laid on, and to stop the noise of my crying, would stamp with his feet on my mouth. "At last," through terror "he turned and spake the words (la ilaha, &c.) as usual holding up the forefinger of the right hand;" he was then circumcised in due form. Of course, such conversion was not a sincere one — "there was yet swines-flesh in his teeth." He boasts of saying his prayers in a state of impurity, hates his fellow religionists, was truly pleased to hear Mahomet called sabbatero, *i. e.* shoemaker, reads his bible, talks of the horrid evil of apostacy, calls the Prophet a "bloody imposter," eats heartily in private of hog, and is very much concerned for one of his countrymen who went home to his own country, but came again to Algier, and *voluntarily*, without the least force used towards him, became a Mahometan. His first letter from his father reached him some days after he had been compelled by his patroon's barbarity to abjure his faith. One sentence appears particularly to have afflicted him: it was this, "to have a care and keep close to God, and to be sure never, by any methods of cruelty that could be used towards me, be prevailed to deny my *blessed Saviour*, and that he (the father) would rather hear of

my death than of my being a Mahometan." Indeed, throughout the work, it appears that his repentance was sincere.

"God be merciful to me a
Sinner!"

is the deprecation that precedes the account of his "turning Turk," and the book concludes with,

"To *him*, therefore, *Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, Three Persons* and *one* God, be all *Honour, Glory* and *Praise*, world without end. *Amen.*"

Having received from his patroon, whom he acknowledges to have been a second parent to him, a letter of freedom at Meccah and entered into pay, still living with his master, Pitts began to think of escape. The Grand Turk had sent to Algiers for ships, and the renegade was allowed to embark on board one of them provided with a diplomatic letter* from Mr. Baker, consul of Algier, to Mr. Raye, consul at Smyrna. The devil, we are told, was very busy with him in the Levant, tempting him to lay aside all thoughts of escaping, to return to Algier, and to continue a Mussulman, and the loss of eight months' pay and certain other monies seems to have weighed heavily upon his soul. Still he prepared for the desperate enterprise, in which failure would have exposed him to be dragged

* Some years afterwards, Mr. Consul Baker, when waited upon by Pitts, in London, gave him a copy of the letter, with the following memorandum upon the back of it:—"Copy of my letter to Consul Raye at Smyrna, to favour the escape of Joseph Pitts, an English renegade, from a squadron of Algier men-of-war. Had my kindness to him been discovered by the government of Algiers, my legs and arms had first been broken, and my carcass burnt—a danger hitherto not courted by any."

about the streets on the stones till half dead, and then be burned to ashes in the Jews burial-place. A generous friend, Mr. Eliot, a Cornish merchant who had served some part of his apprenticeship in Exon and had settled at Smyrna, paid 4*l.* for his passage in a French ship to Leghorn. Therefrom, in the evening before sailing, he went on board "apparel'd as an Englishman with his beard shaven, a *campaign periwig*, and a *cane* in his hand, accompanied with three or four of his friends. At Leghorn he prostrated himself, and kissed the *earth*, blessing *Almighty God*, for his mercy and goodness to him, that he once more set footing on the *European Christian** part of the world." He travelled through Italy, Germany, and Holland, where he received many and great kindnesses. But his patriotism was damped as he entered "England, his own *native* country," and the civilised land must have made him for a time regret ever having left Algiers. The very first night he lay ashore, he was "imprest into the kings service" (we having at that time war with France); despite arguments and tears he spent some days in Colchester jail, and finally he was put on board a smack to be carried to the Dreadnought man-of-war. But happily for himself he had written to Sir William Falkener, one of the Smyrna or Turkey company in London; that gentleman used his interest to procure a protection from the Admiralty office, upon the receipt of which good news, Joseph Pitts did

* The italics in the text are the author's. This is admirably characteristic of the man. Asiatic Christendom would not satisfy him. He seems to hate the "damnable doctrines" of the "Papists," almost as much as those of the Moslems.

"rejoice exceedingly and could not forbear leaping upon the deck." He went to London, thanked Sir William, and hurried down to Exeter, where he ends his fifteen years' tale with a homely, heartful and affecting description of his first meeting with his father. His mother died about a year before his return.

*The following passages are parts of the 7th and 8th chapters of Pitt's little-known work.*

"Next we came to Gidda, the nearest sea-port town to Mecca, not quite one day's journey from it*, where the ships are unloaded. Here we are met by Dileels†, *i.e.* certain persons who come fram Mecca on purpose to instruct the Hagges, or pilgrims, in the ceremonies (most of them being ignorant of them) which are to be used in their worship at the temple there; in the middle of which is a place which they call Beat Allah, *i.e.* the House of God. They say that Abraham built it; to which I give no credit.

"As soon as we come to the town of Mecca, the Dilleel, or guide, carries us into the great street, which is in the midst of the town, and to which the temple joins.‡ After the camels are laid down, he first directs us to the Fountains, there to take Abdes§; which being done, he brings us to the temple, into

* He must have been accustomed to long days' journeys. El Edrisi makes Jeddah forty miles from Meccah; I calculated about forty-four.

† Dalil, a guide, generally called at Meccah "Mutawwif."

‡ Pitts' note,—that before they'll provide for themselves, they serve God in their way.

§ Abdast is the Turkish word, borrowed from the Persian, for "Wuzu," the minor ablution.

which (having left our shoes with one who constantly attends to receive them) we enter at the door called Bab-el-salem, *i.e.* the Welcome Gate, or Gate of Peace. After a few paces entrance, the Dilleel makes a stand, and holds up his hands towards the Beat-Allah (it being in the middle of the mosque), the Hagges imitating him, and saying after him the same words which he speaks. At the very first sight of the Beat-Allah, the Hagges melt into tears, then we are led up to it, still speaking after the Dilleel; then we are led round it seven times, and then make two Erkaets.* This being done, we are led out into the street again, where we are sometimes to run and sometimes to walk very quick with the Dilleel from one place of the street to the other, about a bowshot.† And I profess I could not chuse but admire to see those poor creatures so extraordinary devout, and affectionate, when they were about these superstitions, and with what awe and trembling they were possessed; in so much that I could scarce forbear shedding of tears, to see their zeal, though blind and idolatrous. After all this is done, we returned to the place in the street where we left our camels, with our provisions, and necessaries, and then look out for lodgings; where when we come, we disrobe and take off our Hirrawems‡, and put on our ordinary clothes again.

"All the pilgrims hold it to be their great duty well to improve their time whilst they are at Mecca, not

* Rukaat, a bending. This two-prostration or rather two-curvation prayer is in honour of the mosque.

† This is the ceremony technically called El-Say, or running between Safa and Marwah. Burckhardt describes it accurately, vol. i. pp. 174, 175.

‡ Ihram, the pilgrim-garb.

to do their accustomed duty and devotion in the temple, but to spend all their leisure time there, and as far as strength will permit to continue at Towoaf, *i.e.* to walk round the Beat-Allah, which is about four and twenty paces square. At one corner of the Beat, there is a black stone fastened and framed in with silver plate*, and every time they come to that corner, they kiss the stone; and having gone round seven times they perform two Erkaets-nomas, or prayers. This stone, they say, was formerly white, and then it was called Haggar Essaed, *i.e.* the White Stone.† But by reason of the sins of the multitudes of people who kiss it, it is become black, and is now called Haggar Esswaed, or the Black Stone.

"This place is so much frequented by people going round it, that the place of the Towoaf, *i.e.* the circuit which they take in going round it, is seldom void of people at any time of the day or night.‡ Many have waited several weeks, nay months, for the opportunity of finding it so. For they say, that if any person is blessed with such an opportunity, that for his or her zeal in keeping up the honour of Towoaf, let they petition what they will at the Beat-Allah, they shall be answered. Many will walk round till they are quite weary, then rest, and at it again; carefully remembering at the end of every seventh time to perform two Erkaets. This Beat is in effect the object of their

* Now gold or gilt.

† This is an error. The stone is called Hajar Aswad, the Black Stone, or Hajar Asad, the Blessed Stone. Moreover, it did not change its colour on account of the sins of the people who kissed it.

‡ The Meccans, in effect, still make this a boast.

devotion, the idol which they adore: for, let them be never so far distant from it, East, West, North, or South of it, they will be sure to bow down towards it; but when they are at the Beat, they may go on which side they please and pay their Sallah towards it.* Sometimes there are several hundreds at Towoaf at once, especially after Acshamnomas, or fourth time of service, which is after candle-lighting (as you heard before), and these both men and women, but the women walk on the outside the men, and the men nearest to the Beat. In so great a resort as this, it is not to be supposed that every individual person can come to kiss the stone afore-mentioned; therefore, in such a case, the lifting up the hands towards it, smoothing down their faces, and using a short expression of devotion, as Allah-waick barick, *i.e.* Blessed God, or Allah cabor, *i.e.* Great God, some such like; and so passing by it till opportunity of kissing it offers, is thought sufficient.† But when there are but few men at Towoaf, then the women get opportunity to kiss the said stone, and when they have gotten it, they close in with it as they come round, and walk round as quick as they can to come to it again, and keep possession of it for a considerable time. The men, when they see that the women have got the place, will be so civil as to pass by and give them leave to take their fill, as I may say, in their Towoaf or walking round, during which they are using some

* Nothing more blindly prejudiced than this statement. Moslems turn towards Mecca, as Christians towards Jerusalem.

† As will afterwards be explained, all the four orthodox schools do not think it necessary to kiss the stone after each circumambulation.

formal expressions. When the women are at the stone, then it is esteemed a very rude and abominable thing to go near them, respecting the time and place.

"I shall now give you a more particular description of Mecca and the temple there.

"First, as to Mecca. It is a town situated in a barren place (about one day's journey from the Red Sea) in a valley, or rather in the midst of many little hills. It is a place of no force, wanting both walls and gates. Its buildings are (as I said before) very ordinary, insomuch that it would be a place of no tolerable entertainment, were it not for the anniversary resort of so many thousand Hagges, or pilgrims, on whose coming the whole dependance of the town (in a manner) is; for many shops are scarcely open all the year besides.

"The people here, I observed, are a poor sort of people, very thin, lean, and swarthy. The town is surrounded for several miles with many thousands of little hills, which are very near one to the other. I have been on the top of some of them near Mecca, where I could see some miles about, yet was not able to see the farthest of the hills. They are all stony-rock and blackish, and pretty near of a bigness, appearing at a distance like cocks of hay, but all pointing towards Mecca. Some of them are half a mile in circumference, but all near of one height. The people here have an odd and foolish sort of tradition concerning them, viz.: That when Abraham went about building the Beat-Allah, God by his wonderful providence did so order it, that every mountain in the world should contribute something to the building

thereof; and accordingly every one did send its proportion; though there is a mountain near Algier, which is called Corradog, *i. e.* Black Mountain; and the reason of its blackness, they say, is because it did not send any part of itself towards building the temple at Mecca.* Between these hills is good and plain travelling, though they stand one to another.

"There is upon the top of one of them a cave, which they term Hira†, *i. e.* Blessing; into which (they say) Mahomet did usually retire for his solitary devotions, meditations, and fastings; and here they believe he had a great part of the Alcoran brought him by the Angel Gabriel. I have been in this cave, and observed that it is not at all beautified; at which I admired.

"About half a mile out of Mecca is a very steep hill, and there are stairs made to go to the top of it, where is a cupola, under which is a cloven rock; into this, they say, Mahomet, when very young, viz. about four years of age, was carried by the Angel Gabriel, who opened his breast, and took out his heart, from which he picked some black blood-specks, which was his original corruption; then put it into its place again, and afterwards closed up the part; and that during this operation Mahomet felt no pain.

"Into this very place I myself went, because the rest of my company did so, and performed some Erkaets, as they did.

* These are mere local traditions. The original Kaabah was composed of materials gathered from the six mountains of Paradise (Chap. XX.). The present building is of grey granite, quarried in a hill near Meccah.

† Now Jebel Nur.

"The town hath plenty of water, and yet but few herbs, unless in some particular places. Here are several sorts of good fruits to be had, viz. grapes, melons, water-melons, cucumbers, pumkins, and the like; but these are brought two or three days' journey off, where there is a place of very great plenty, called, if I mistake not, Habbash.* Likewise sheep are brought hither and sold. So that as to Mecca itself, it affords little or nothing of comfortable provisions. It lieth in a very hot country, insomuch that people run from one side of the streets to the other to get into the shadow, as the motion of the sun causes it. The inhabitants, especially men, do usually sleep on the tops of the houses for the air, or in the streets before their doors. Some lay the small bedding they have on a thin mat on the ground; others have a slight frame, made much like drink-stalls on which we place barrels, standing on four legs, corded with palm cordage, on which they put their bedding. Before they bring out their bedding, they sweep the streets and water them. As for my own part, I usually lay open, without any bed-covering, on the top of the house; only I took a linen cloth, dipt in water, and after I had wrung it, covered myself with it in the night; and when I awoke I should find it dry; then

* They come from the well-known Taif, which the country people call Hejaz, but never Habbash. The word Taif literally means the "circumambulator." It is said that when Adam settled at Meccah, finding the country barren, he prayed to Allah to supply him with a bit of fertile land. Immediately appeared a mountain, which having performed Tawaf round the Kaabah, settled itself down eastward of Meccah. Hence, to the present day, Taif is called Kita min El Sham, a piece of Syria, its fatherland.

I would wet it again: and thus I did two or three times in a night.

"Secondly. I shall next give you some account of the temple of Mecca.

"It hath about forty-two doors to enter into it, not so much, I think, for necessity, as figure; for in some places they are close by one another. The form of it is much resembling that of the Royal Exchange in London, but I believe it is near ten times bigger. It is all open and gravelled in the midst, except some paths that come from certain doors which lead to the Beat-Allah, and are paved with broad stones. The walks, or cloisters, all round are arched over-head, and paved beneath with fine broad stone; and all round are little rooms, or cells, where such dwell and give themselves up to reading, studying, and a devout life, who are much akin to their dervises, or hermits.

"The Beat-Allah, which stands in the middle of the temple, is four-square, about twenty-four paces each square, and near twenty-four foot * in height. It is built with great stone, all smooth, and plain, without the least bit of carved work on it. It is covered all over from top to bottom with a thick sort of silk. Above the middle part of the covering are embroidered all round letters of gold, the meaning of which I cannot well call to mind, but I think they were some devout expressions. Each letter is near two foot in length and two inches broad. Near the lower end of this Beat are large brass rings fastened into it, through which passeth a great cotton rope; and to this the lower end of the covering is tacked. The threshold

* This is an error of printing for "paces."

of the door that belongs to the Beat is as high as a man can reach; and therefore when any person enters into it, a sort of ladder-stairs are brought for that purpose. The door is plated all over with silver * and there is a covering hangs over it and reaches to the ground, which is kept turned up all the week, except Thursday night, and Friday, which is their Sabbath. The said covering of the door is very thick imbroidered with gold, insomuch that it weighs several score pounds. The top of the Beat is flat, beaten with lime and sand; and there is a long gutter, or spout, to carry off the water when it rains; at which time the people will run, throng, and struggle, to get under the said gutter, that so the water that comes off the Beat may fall upon them, accounting it as the dew of Heaven, and looking on it as a great happiness to have it drop upon them. But if they can recover some of this water to drink, they esteem it to be yet a much greater happiness. Many poor people make it their endeavour to get some of it, and present it to the Hagges, for which they are well rewarded. My Patroon had a present made him of this water, with which he was not a little pleased, and gave him that brought it a good reward.

"This Beat-Allah is opened but two days in the space of six weeks, viz. one day for the men, and the

* (Pitts' Note.) Not of massy gold, as a late French author (who, I am sure, was never there) says. The door is of wood, only plated over with silver; much less is the inside of the Beat ceiled with massy gold, as the same Frenchman asserts. I can assure the world it is no such thing.

The door is of wood, thickly plated over with silver, in many

next day for the women.* As I was at Mecca about four months, I had the opportunity of entering into it twice; a reputed advantage, which many thousands of the Hagges have not met with, for those that come by land make no longer stay at Mecca than sixteen or seventeen days.

"When any enter into the Beat, all that they have to do is to perform two Erkaets on each side †, with the holding up their two hands, and petitioning at the conclusion of each two Erkaets. And they are so very reverent and devout in doing this, that they will not suffer their eyes to wander and gaze about; for they account it very sinful so to do. Nay, they say that one was smitten blind for gazing about when in the Beat, as the reward of his vain and unlawful curiosity.‡ I could not, for my part, give any credit to this story, but looked on it as a legendary relation, and, therefore, was resolved, if I could, to take my view of it; I mean not to continue gazing about it, but now and then to cast an observing eye. And I profess I found nothing worth seeing in it, only two wooden pillars in the midst, to keep up the roof §, and a bar of iron fastened to them, on which hanged three or four silver lamps, which are, I suppose, but seldom,

parts gilt. And whatever hereabouts is gilt, the Meccans always call gold. (R. F. B.)

* This is no longer the case. Few women ever enter the Kaabah, on account of the personal danger they run there.

† More correctly, at three of the corners, and the fourth opposite the southern third of the western wall.

‡ It is deemed disrespectful to look at the ceiling, but pilgrims may turn their eyes in any other direction they please.

§ There are now three.

if ever, lighted. In one corner of the Beat is an iron or brass chain, I cannot tell which (for I made no use of it): the pilgrims just clap it about their necks in token of repentance. The floor of the Beat is marble, and so is the inside of the walls, on which there is written something in Arabick, which I had not time to read. The walls, though of marble on the inside, are hung all over with silk, which is pulled off * before the Hagges enter. Those that go into the Beat tarry there but a very little while, viz. scarce so much as half a quarter of an hour, because others wait for the same privilege; and while some go in, others are going out. After all is over, and all that will have done this, the Sultan of Mecca, who is Shirreef, *i.e.* one of the race of Mahomet, accounts himself not too good to cleanse the Beat; and, therefore, with some of his favourites, doth wash and cleanse it. And first of all, they wash it with the holy water, Zem Zem, and after that with sweet water. The stairs which were brought to enter in at the door of the Beat being removed, the people crowd under the door to receive on them the sweepings of the said water. And the besoms wherewith the Beat is cleansed are broken in pieces, and thrown out amongst the mob; and he that gets a small stick or twig of it, keeps it as a sacred relique.

"But to speak something further of the temple of Meccah (for I am willing to be very particular in matters about it, though in so being, I should, it may be, speak of things which by some people may be thought

* It is tucked up about six feet high.

trivial). The compass of ground round the Beat (where the people exercise themselves in the duty of Towoaf) is paved with marble * about 50 foot in breadth, and round this marble pavement stand pillars of brass about 15 foot high † and 20 foot distant from each other; above the middle part of which iron bars are fastened, reaching from one to the other, and several lamps made of glass are hanged to each of the said bars, with brass wires in the form of a triangle, to give light in the night season, for they pay their devotions at the Beat-Allah as much by night as by day, during the Hagges' stay at Mecca. These glasses are half-filled with water, and a third part with oil, on which a round wire of brass buoyed up with three little corks; in the midst of this wire is made a place to put in the wick or cotton, which burns till the oil is spent. Every day they are washed clean, and replenished with fresh water, oil, and cotton.

"On each of the four squares of the Beat is a little room built, and over every one of them is a little chamber with windows all round it, in which chambers the Emaums (together with the Mezzins) perform Sallah, in the audience of all the people which are below. These four chambers are built one at each square of the Beat, by reason that there are four sorts of Mahometans. The first are called Hanifee; most of them are Turks. The second Schafee ‡; whose manners and ways the

* It is a close kind of grey granite, which takes a high polish from the pilgrims' feet.

† Now iron posts.

‡ The Shafei school have not, and never had, a peculiar oratory like the other three schools. They pray near the well Zem-Zem.

Arabians follow. The third Hanbelee; of which there are but few.* The fourth Malakee; of which there are those that live westward of Egypt, even to the Emperor of Morocco's country. These all agree in fundamentals, only there is some small difference between them in the ceremonial part.

"About twelve paces from the Beat is (as they say) the sepulchre of Abraham *, who by God's immediate command, they tell you, built this Beat-Allah; which sepulchre is enclosed within iron grates. It is made somewhat like the tombstones which people of fashion have among us, but with a very handsome imbroidered covering. Into this persons are apt to gaze. A small distance from it, on the left-hand, is a well, which they call Beer el Zem Zem, the water whereof they call holy water; and as superstitiously esteem it as the Papists do theirs. In the month of Ramadan they will be sure to break their fast with it. They report that it is as sweet as milk; but for my part I could perceive no other taste in it than in common water, except that it was somewhat brackish. The Hagges, when they come first to Mecca, drink of it unreasonably; by which means they are not only much purged, but their flesh breaks out all in pimples; and this they call the purging of their spiritual corruptions. There are hundreds of pitchers belonging to the temple, which in the month of Ramadan are filled with the said water and placed all along before the people (with cups to drink), as they are kneeling and waiting for Acsham-nomas, or evening

* This place contains the stone which served Abraham for a scaffold when he was erecting the Kaabah. Some of our popular writers confound this stone with the Hajar el Aswad.

service; and as soon as the Mezzins or clerks on the tops of the minarets begin their bawling to call them to nomas, they fall a drinking thereof before they begin their devotions. This Beer or well of Zem Zem is in the midst of one of the little rooms before mentioned, at each square of the Beat, distant about twelve or fourteen paces from it, out of which four men are employed to draw water, without any pay or reward, for any that shall desire it. Each of these men have two leather buckets tied to a rope on a small wheel, one of which comes up full, while the other goes down empty. They do not only drink this water, but oftentimes bathe themselves with it, at which time they take off their clothes, only covering their lower parts with a thin wrapper, and one of the drawers pours on each person's head five or six buckets of water.* The person bathing may lawfully wash himself therewith above the middle, but not his lower parts, because they account they are not worthy, only letting the water take its way downwards. In short, they make use of this water only to drink, take Abdes, and for bathing; neither may they take Abdes with it, unless they first cleanse their secret parts with other common water. Yea, such an high esteem they have for it, that many Hagges carry it home to their respective countries in little latten or tin pots; and present it to their friends, half a spoonful, may be, to each, who receive it in the hollow of their hand with

* (Pitts' Note.) The worthy Mons. Thevenot saith, that the waters of Meccah are bitter; but I never found them so, but as sweet and as good as any others, for aught as I could perceive.

Pitts has just remarked that he found the water of Zem-Zem brackish. To my taste it was a salt-bitter, which was exceedingly disagreeable. (R. F. B.)

great care and abundance of thanks, sipping a little of it, and bestowing the rest on their faces and naked heads; at the same time holding up their hands, and desiring of God that they also may be so happy and prosperous as to go on pilgrimage to Mecca. The reason of their putting such an high value upon the water of this well, is because (as they say) it is the place where Ismael was laid by his mother Hagar. I have heard them tell the story exactly as it is recorded in the 21st chapter of Genesis; and they say, that in the very place where the child paddled with his feet, the water flowed out.

"I shall now inform you how, when, and where, they receive the honourable title of Hagges, for which they are at all this pains and expence.

"The Curbaen Byram, or the Feast of Sacrifice, follows two months and ten days after the Ramadan fast. The eighth day after the said two months they all enter into Hirrawem, *i.e.* put on their mortifying habit again, and in that manner go to a certain hill called Gibbel el Orphat (El Arafat), *i.e.* the Mountain of Knowledge: for there, they say, Adam first found and knew his wife Eve. And they likewise say, that she was buried at Gidda near the Red Sea; at whose sepulchre all the Hagges who come to Mecca by way of the Red Sea, perform two Erkaets-nomas, and, I think, no more. I could not but smile to hear this their ridiculous tradition (for so I must pronounce it), when observing the marks which were set, the one at the head, and the other at the foot of the grave: I guessed them to be about a bow-shot distant from each other. On the middle of her supposed grave is

a little mosque built, where the Hagges pay their religious respect.

"This Gibbel or hill is not so big as to contain the vast multitudes which resort thither; for it is said by them, that there meet no less than 70,000 souls every year, in the ninth day after the two months after Ramadan; and if it happen that in any year there be wanting some of that number, God, they say, will supply the deficiency by so many angels.*

"I do confess the number of Hagges I saw at this mountain was very great; nevertheless, I cannot think they could amount to so many as 70,000. There are certain bound-stones placed round the Gibbel, in the plain, to shew how far the sacred ground (as they esteem it) extends; and many are so zealous as to come and pitch their tents within these bounds, some time before the hour of paying their devotion here comes, waiting for it. But why they so solemnly approach this mountain beyond any other place, and receive from hence the title of Hagges, I confess I do not more fully understand than what I have already said, giving but little heed to these delusions. I observed nothing worth seeing on this hill, for there was only a small cupola on the top of it †; neither are there any inhabitants nearer to it than Mecca. About one or two of the clock, which is the time of Euleanomas, having washed and made themselves ready for it,

* They are not so modest. 600,000 is the mystical number; others declare it to be incalculable. Oftentimes 70,000 have met at Arafat.

† The cupola has now disappeared; there is a tall pillar of masonry-work, white-washed, rising from a plastered floor, for praying.

they perform that, and at the same time perform Ekinde-nomas, which they never do at one time, but upon this occasion; because at the time when Ekinde-nomas should be performed in the accustomed order, viz. about four of the clock in the afternoon, they are imploring pardon for their sins, and receiving the Emaum's benediction.*

"It was a sight indeed, able to pierce one's heart, to behold so many thousands in their garments of humility and mortification, with their naked heads, and cheeks watered with tears; and to hear their grievous sighs and sobs, begging earnestly for the remission of their sins, promising newness of life, using a form of penitential expressions, and thus continuing for the space of four or five hours, viz. until the time of Acsham-nomas, which is to be performed about half an hour after sunset. (It is matter of sorrowful reflection, to compare the indifference of many Christians with this zeal of these poor blind Mahometans, who will, it is to be feared, rise up in judgment against them and condemn them.) After their solemn performance of their devotions thus at the Gibbel, they all at once receive that honourable title of Hagge from the Emaum, and are so stiled to their dying day. Immediately upon their receiving this name, the trumpet is sounded, and they all leave the hill and return for Mecca, and being gone two or three miles on their way, they then

* On the 9th Zu'l Hijjah, or the Day of Arafat, the pilgrims, having taken their stations within the sacred limits, perform ablution about noon, and pray as directed at that hour. At three P.M., after again performing the usual devotions, or more frequently after neglecting them, they repair to the hill, and hear the sermon.

rest for that night *; but after nomas, before they go to rest, each person gathers nine-and-forty small stones, about the bigness of an hazle nut; the meaning of which I shall acquaint you with presently.

"The next morning they move to a place called Mina, or Muna; the place, as they say, where Abraham went to offer up his son Isaac †, and therefore in this place they sacrifice their sheep. It is about two or three miles from Mecca. I was here shown a stone, or little rock, which was parted in the middle. They told me, that when Abraham was going to sacrifice his son, instead of striking him, Providence directed his hand to this stone, which he clave in two. It must be a good stroke indeed!

"Here they all pitch their tents (it being in a spacious plain), and spend the time of Curbaen Byram, viz. three days. As soon as their tents are pitched, and all things orderly disposed, every individual Hagge, the first day, goes and throws seven of the small stones, which they had gathered, against a small pillar, or little square stone building.‡ Which action of theirs is intended to testify their defiance of the devil and his deeds; for they at the same time pronounce the following words, viz. Erzum le Shetane wazbehe §; *i.e.* stone the devil,

* At Muzdalifah.

† This, I need scarcely say, is speaking as a Christian. All Moslems believe that Ishmael, and not Isaac, was ordered to be sacrificed. The place to which Pitts alludes is still shown to pilgrims.

‡ (Pitts' Note.) Monsieur de Thevenot saith, that they throw these stones at the Gibbel or Mount; but, indeed, it is otherwise; though I must needs say, he is very exact in almost every thing of Turkish matters; and I pay much deference to that great author.

§ The Rami or Jaculator now usually says, as he casts each

and them that please him.* And there are two other of the like pillars, which are situated near one another; at each of which (I mean all three), the second day, they throw seven stones; and the same they do the third day. As I was going to perform this ceremony of throwing the stones, a facetious Hagge met me; saith he, 'You may save your labour at present, if you please, for I have hit out the devil's eyes already.' You must observe, that after they have thrown the seven stones on the first day (the country people having brought great flocks of sheep to be sold), every one buys a sheep and sacrifices it; some of which they give to their friends, some to the poor which come out of Mecca and the country adjacent, very ragged poor, and the rest they eat themselves; after which they shave their heads, throw off Hirrawem, and put on other clothes, and then salute one another with a kiss, saying, 'Byram Mabarick Ela,' *i. e.* the feast be a blessing to you.

"These three days of Byram they spend festivally, rejoicing with abundance of illuminations all night, shooting of guns, and fireworks flying in the air; for they reckon that all their sins are now done away, and they shall, when they die, go directly to heaven, if they don't apostatize; and that for the future, if they keep their vow and do well, God will set down for every good action ten; but if they do ill, God will likewise reckon

stone, "In the name of Allah, and Allah is Omnipotent (Raghman li'sh' Shaytani wa Khizyatih), in token of abhorrence to Satan, and for his ignominy (I do this)."

* The Arabic would mean stone the devil and slay him, unless "wazbehe" be an error for "wa ashabih,"—"and his companions."

every evil action ten: and any person, who, after having received the title of Hagge, shall fall back to a vicious course of life, is esteemed to be very vile and infamous by them.*

"Some have written, that many of the Hagges, after they have returned home, have been so austere to themselves as to pore a long time over red-hot bricks, or ingots of iron, and by that means willingly lose their sight, desiring to see nothing evil or profane, after so sacred a sight as the temple at Mecca; but I never knew any such thing done.

"During their three days' stay at Mina, scarce any Hagge (unless impotent) but thinks it his duty to pay his visit, once at least, to the temple at Mecca. They scarce cease running all the way thitherward, shewing their vehement desire to have a fresh sight of the Beat-Allah; which as soon as ever they come in sight of, they burst into tears for joy; and after having performed Towoaf for a while, and a few Erkaets, they return again to Mina. And when the three days of Byram are expired, they all, with their tents, &c., come back again to Mecca.

"They say, that after the Hagges are gone from Mina to Mecca, God doth usually send a good shower of rain to wash away the filth and dung of the sacrifices there slain; and also that those vast numbers of little stones, which I told you the Hagges throw in defiance of the devil, are all carried away by the angels before the year comes about again. But I am sure I saw vast numbers of them that were thrown the year

* Even in the present day, men who have led "wild" lives in their youth, often date their reformation from the first pilgrimage.

before, lie upon the ground. After they are returned to Mecca, they can tarry there no longer than the stated time, which is about ten or twelve days; during which time there is a great fair held, where are sold all manner of East India goods, and abundance of fine stones for rings and bracelets, &c., brought from Yeamane *; also of China-ware and musk, and variety of other curiosities. Now is the time in which the Hagges are busily employed in buying, for they do not think it lawful to buy any thing till they have received the title of Hagge. Every one almost now buys a caffin, or shroud of fine linen, to be buried in (for they never use coffins for that purpose), which might have been procured at Algier, or their other respective homes, at a much cheaper rate; but they choose to buy it here, because they have the advantage of dipping it in the holy water, Zem Zem. They are very careful to carry the said caffin with them wherever they travel, whether by sea or land, that they may be sure to be buried therein.

"The evening before they leave Mecca, every one must go to take their solemn leave of the Beat, entering at the gate called Babe el Salem, *i. e.* Welcome Gate, and having continued at Towoaf as long as they please, which many do till they are quite tired, and it being the last time of their paying their devotions to it, they do it with floods of tears, as being extremely unwilling to part and bid farewell; and having drank their fill of the water Zem Zem, they go to one side of the Beat, their backs being towards the door called by the name

* Yemen, southern Arabia, whose "Akik," or cornelians were celebrated.

of Babe el Weedoh, *i. e.* the farewell door, which is opposite to the welcome door; where, having performed two or three Erkacts, they get upon their legs and hold up their hands towards the Beat, making earnest petitions; and then keep going backward till they come to the above said farewell gate, being guided by some other, for they account it a very irreverent thing to turn their backs towards the Beat when they take leave of it. All the way as they retreat they continue petitioning, holding up their hands, with their eyes fixed upon the Beat, till they are out of sight of it; and so go to their lodgings weeping.

"Ere I leave Mecca, I shall acquaint you with a passage of a Turk to me in the temple cloyster, in the night time, between Acsham-nomas, and Gega-nomas, *i. e.* between the evening and the night services. The Hagges do usually spend that time, or good part of it, (which is about an hour and half) at Towoaf, and then sit down on the mats, and rest themselves. This I did, and after I had sat a while, and for my more ease at last was lying on my back, with my feet towards the Beat, but at a distance as many others did, a Turk which sat by me, asked me what countryman I was; 'A Mogrebee' (said I), *i. e.* one of the West. 'Pray,' quoth he, 'how far west did you come?' I told him from Gazair, *i. e.* Algier. 'Ah!' replied he, 'have you taken so much pains, and been at so much cost, and now be guilty of this irreverent posture before the Beat Allah?'

"Here are many Moors, who get a beggarly livelihood by selling models of the temple unto strangers, and in being serviceable to the Pilgrims. Here are also several

Effendies, or masters of learning, who daily expound out of the Alcoran, sitting in high chairs, and some of the learned Pilgrims, whilst they are here, do undertake the same.

"Under the room of the Hanifees (which I mentioned before), people do usually gather together (between the hours of devotion), and sitting round cross-legged, it may be, twenty or thirty of them, they have a very large pair of Tessbeehs, or beads, each bead near as big as a man's fist, which they keep passing round, bead after bead, one to the other, all the time, using some devout expressions. I myself was once got in amongst them, and methought it was a pretty play enough for children, — however, I was to appearance very devout.

"There are likewise some dervises that get money here, as well as at other places, by burning of incense, swinging their censers as they go along before the people that are sitting; as this they do commonly on Friday, their Sabbath. In all other Gamiler or mosques, when the Hattib is preaching, and the people all sitting still at their devotion, they are all in ranks, so that the dervise, without the least disturbance to any, walks between every rank, with his censer in one hand, and with the other takes his powdered incense out of a little pouch that hangs by his side.*

"But though this place, Mecca, is esteemed so very holy, yet it comes short of none for lewdness and debauchery. As for uncleanness, it is equal to Grand Cairo; and they will steal even in the temple itself.

* This is still practised in Moslem countries, being considered a decent way of begging during public prayers, without interrupting them.

"CHAP. VIII.—*Of the Pilgrims' return from Meccah: their visit made at Medinah to Mahomet's tomb there.*

"Having thus given you an account of the Turks pilgrimage to Meccah, and of their worship there (the manner and circumstances of which I have faithfully and punctually related, and may challenge the world to convict me of a known falsehood), I now come to take leave of the temple and town of Mecca.

"Having hired camels of the carriers, we set out, but we give as much for the hire of one from Mecca to Egypt, which is about forty days' journey, as the real worth of it is, (viz.) about five or six pounds sterling. If it happen that the camel dies by the way, the carrier is to supply us with another; and therefore, those carriers* who come from Egypt to Mecca with the caravan, bring with them several spare camels; for there is hardly a night passeth but many die upon the road, for if a camel should chance to fall, it is seldom known that it is able to rise again; and if it should, they despair of its being capable of performing the journey, or ever being useful more. It is a common thing, therefore, when a camel once falls, to take off its burden and put it on another, and then kill it; which the poorer sort of the company eat. I myself have eaten of camel's flesh, and it is very sweet and nourishing. If a camel tires, they even leave him upon the place.

"The first day we set out from Mecca, it was without any order at all, all hurly burly; but the next day every one laboured to get forward; and in order to it, there

* These people will contract to board the pilgrim, and provide him with a tent, as well as convey his luggage.

was many time much quarrelling and fighting. But after every one had taken his place in the caravan, they orderly and peaceably kept the same place till they came to Grand Cairo. They travel four camels in a breast, which are all tied one after the other, like as in teams.* The whole body is called a caravan, which is divided into several cottors, or companies, each of which hath its name, and consists, it may be, of several thousand camels; and they move one cottor after another, like distinct troops. In the head of each cottor is some great gentleman or officer, who is carried in a thing like a horse-litter, borne by two camels, one before and the other behind, which is covered all over with sear-cloth, and over that again with green broad cloth, and set forth very handsomely. If the said great person hath a wife with him, she is carried in another of the same.† In the head of every cottor there goes, likewise, a sumpter camel, which carries his treasure, &c. This camel hath two bells, about the bigness of our market-bells, having one on each side, the sound of which may be heard a great way off. Some other of the camels have round bells about their necks, some about their legs, like those which our carriers put about their fore-horses' necks; which together with the servants (who belong to the camels, and travel on foot) singing all night, make a pleasant noise, and the journey passes away delightfully. They say this musick makes the camels brisk and lively.

* The usual way now is in "Kitar," or Indian file, each camel's halter being tied to the tail of the beast that precedes him. Pitts' "cottor" must be a kitar, but he uses the word in another of its numerous senses.

† This vehicle is the "Takht-rawan" of Arabia.

Thus they travel, in good order every day, till they come to Grand Cairo; and were it not for this order, you may guess what confusion would be amongst such a vast multitude.

"They have lights by night (which is the chief time of travelling, because of the exceeding heat of the sun by day), which are carried on the tops of high poles, to direct the Hagges in their march.* They are somewhat like iron stoves, into which they put short dry wood, which some of the camels are loaded with; it is carried in great sacks, which have an hole near the bottom, where the servants take it out, as they see the fires need a recruit. Every cottor hath one of these poles belonging to it, some of which have ten, some twelve, of these lights on their tops, or more or less; and they are likewise of different figures as well as numbers; one, perhaps, oval way, like a gate; another triangular, or like an N or M, &c., so that every one knows by them his respective cottor. They are carried in the front, and set up in the place where the caravan is to pitch, before that comes up, at some distance from one another. They are also carried by day, not lighted, but yet by the figure and number of them, the Hagges are directed to what cottor they belong, as soldiers are, by their colours, where to rendezvous; and without such directions it would be impossible to avoid confusion in such a vast number of people.

"Every day, viz. in the morning, they pitch their tents, and rest several hours. When the camels are unloaded the owners drive them to water, and give them their

* He describes the Mashals still in use. Lane has sketched them, Mod. Egypt, chap. vi.

provender, &c. So that we had nothing to do with them, besides helping to load them.

"As soon as our tents were pitched, my business was to make a little fire and get a pot of coffee. When we had ate some small matter and drank the coffee, we lay down to sleep. Between eleven and twelve, we boiled something for dinner, and having dined, lay down again, till about four in the afternoon; when the trumpet was sounded which gave notice to every one to take down their tents, pack up their things, and load their camels in order to proceed on their journey. It takes up about two hours time ere they are in all their places again. At the time of Acsham-nomas, and also Gega-nomas, they make a halt, and perform their Sallah (so punctual are they in their worship), and then they travel till next morning. If water be scarce, what I call an imaginary Abdes* will do. As for ancient men, it being very troublesome for such to alight off the camels, and get up again, it is lawful for them to defer these two times of nomas till the next day; but they will be sure to perform it then.

"As for provisions, we bring enough out of Egypt to suffice us till we return thither again. At Mecca we compute how much will serve us for one day, and consequently, for the forty days' journey to Egypt, and if we find we have more than we may well guess will suffice us for a long time, we sell the overplus at Mecca. There is a charity maintained by the Grand Seignior, for water to refresh the poor who travel on foot all the *way; for there are many such undertake* this journey

* Pitts means by "imaginary Abdes," the sand ablution,—lawful when water is wanted for sustaining life.

(or pilgrimage) without any money, relying on the charity of the Haggees for subsistence, knowing that they, largely extend it at such a time.

"Every Hagge carries his provisions, water, bedding, &c., with him, and usually three or four diet together, and sometimes discharge a poor man's expenses the whole journey for his attendance on them. There was an Irish renegade, who was taken very young, insomuch that he had not only lost his Christian religion, but his native language also. This man had endured thirty years slavery in Spain, and in the French gallies, but was afterwards redeemed and came home to Algier. He was looked upon as a very pious man, and a great zealot, by the Turks, for his not turning from the Mahommedan faith, notwithstanding the great temptations he had so to do. Some of my neighbours who intended for Mecca, the same year I went with my patroon thither, offered this renegado that if he would serve them on this journey they would defray his charges throughout. He gladly embraced the offer, and I remember when we arrived at Mecca he passionately told me, that God had delivered him out of hell upon earth (meaning his former slavery in France and Spain), and had brought him into an heaven upon earth, viz. Mecca. I admired much his zeal, but pitied his condition.

"Their water they carry in goats' skins, which they fasten to one side of their camels. It sometimes happens that no water is to be met with for two, three, or more days; but yet it is well known that a camel is a creature that can live long without drinking (God in his wise providence so ordering it: for otherwise it

would be very difficult, if not impossible to travel through the parched deserts of Arabia).

"In this journey many times the skulking, thievish, Arabs do much mischief to some of the Hagges; for in the night time they will steal upon them (especially such as are on the outside of the caravan), and being taken to be some of the servants that belong to the carriers, or owners of the camels, they are not suspected. When they see an Hagge fast asleep, (for it is usual for them to sleep on the road), they loose a camel before and behind, and one of the thieves leads it away with the Hagge upon its back asleep. Another of them in the mean while, pulls on the next camel to tie it to the camel from whence the halter of the other was cut; for if that camel be not fastened again to the leading camel, it will stop, and all that are behind will then stop of course, which might be a means of discovering the robbers. When they have gotten the stolen camel, with his rider, at a convenient distance from the caravan, and think themselves out of danger, they awake the Hagge, and sometimes destroy him immediately; but at other times, being a little more inclined to mercy, they strip him naked, and let him return to the caravan.*

"About the tenth easy day's journey, after we come out of Mecca, we enter into Medina, the place where Mahomet lies entombed. Although it be (as I take it) two or three days' journey out of the direct way from

* As I shall explain at a future time, there are still some Hejazi Bedouins whose young men, before entering life, risk everything in order to plunder a Haji. They care little for the value of the article stolen, the exploit consists in stealing it.

Mecca to Egypt, yet the Hagges pay their visit there for the space of two days, and come away the third.

"Those Mahometans which live to the southward of Mecca, at the East Indies, and thereaway, are not bound to make a visit to Medina, but to Mecca only, because it would be so much out of their way. But such as come from Turkey, Tartary, Egypt, and Africa, think themselves obliged so to do.

"Medina is but a little town, and poor, yet it is walled round *, and hath in it a great mosque, but nothing near so big as the temple at Mecca. In one corner of the mosque is a place, built about fourteen or fifteen paces square. About this place are great windows †, fenced with brass grates. In the inside it is decked with some lamps, and ornaments. It is arched all over head. (I find some relate, that there are no less than 3000 lamps about Mahomet's tomb; but it is a mistake, for there are not, as I verily believe, an hundred; and I speak what I know, and have been an eye-witness of). In the middle of this place is the tomb of Mahomet, where the corpse of that bloody impostor is laid, which hath silk curtains all around it like a bed; which curtains are not costly nor beautiful. There is nothing of his tomb to be seen by any, by reason of the curtains round it, nor are any of the Hagges permitted to enter there.‡ None go in but the Eunuchs, who keep watch

* The walls, therefore, were built between A.D. 1503 and A.D. 1680.

† These are not windows, but simply the inter-columnar spaces filled with grating.

‡ This account is perfectly correct. The Eunuchs, however, do not go into the Tomb; they only light the lamps in, and sweep the passage round, the Sepulchre.

over it, and they only to light the lamps, which burn there by night, and to sweep and cleanse the place. All the privilege the Hagges have, is only to thrust in their hands at the windows *, between the brass grates, and to petition the dead juggler, which they do with a wonderful deal of reverence, affection, and zeal. My patroon had his silk handkerchief stole out of his bosom, while he stood at his devotion here.

"It is storied by some, that the coffin of Mahomet hangs up by the attractive virtue of a loadstone to the roof of the mosque; but believe me it is a false story. When I looked through the brass gate, I saw as much as any of the Hagges; and the top of the curtains, which covered the tomb, were not half so high as the roof or arch; so that it is impossible his coffin should be hanging there. I never heard the Mahometans say anything like it. On the outside of this place, where Mahomet's tomb is, are some sepulchres of their reputed saints; among which is one prepared for Christ Jesus, when he shall come again personally into the world; for they hold that Christ will come again in the flesh, forty years before the end of the world, to confirm the Mahometan faith, and say likewise, that our Saviour was not crucified in person, but in effigy, or one like him.

"Medina is much supplied by the opposite Abyssine country, which is on the other side of the Red Sea; from thence they have corn and necessaries brought in ships; an odd sort of vessels as ever I saw, their sails being

* These are the small apertures in the southern grating. See Chap. XVI.

made of matting, such as they use in their houses and mosques to tread upon.

"When we had taken our leave of Medina, the third day, and travelled about ten days more, we were met by a great many Arabians, who brought abundance of fruit to us, particularly raisins; but from whence I cannot tell.* When we came within fifteen days' journey of Grand Cairo, we were met by many people who came from thence, with their camels laden with presents for the Hagges, sent from their friends and relations, as sweet-meats, &c. But some of them came rather for profit, to sell fresh provisions to the Hagges, and trade with them.

"About ten days before we got to Cairo, we came to a very long steep hill, called Ackaba, which the Hagges are usually much afraid how they shall be able to get up. Those who can will walk it. The poor camels, having no hoofs, find it very hard work, and many drop here. They were all untied, and we dealt gently with them, moving very slowly, and often halting. Before we came to this hill, I observed no descent, and when we were at the top there was none, but all plain as before.

"We past by Mount Sinai by night, and, perhaps, when I was asleep; so that I had no prospect of it.

"When we came within seven days' journey of Cairo, we were met by abundance of people more, some hundreds, who came to welcome their friends and relations; but it being night, it was difficult to find those they wanted, and, therefore, as the caravans past

* The caravan must have been near the harbour of Muwaylah, where supplies are abundant.

along they kept calling them aloud by their names, and by this means found them out. And when we were in three days' journey of it, we had many camel-loads of the water of the Nile brought us to drink. But the day and the night before we came to Cairo, thousands came out to meet us with extraordinary rejoicing. It is thirty-seven days' journey from Mecca to Cairo, and three days we tarry by the way, which together make up (as I said) forty days' journey; and in all this way there is scarce any green thing to be met with, nor beast nor fowl to be seen or heard; nothing but sand and stones, excepting one place which we passed by night; I suppose it was a village, where were some trees, and, as we thought, gardens."

# APPENDIX IV.

## Giovanni Finati.

The third pilgrim on our list is Giovanni Finati, who, under the Moslem name of "Haji Mohammed," made the campaign against the Wahhabees for the recovery of Mecca and Medina. A native of Ferrara, the eldest of the four scions of a small landed proprietor, "tenderly attached to his mother," and brought up most unwillingly for a holy vocation,—to use his own words, "instructed in all that course of frivolous and empty ceremonials and mysteries, which form a principal feature in the training of a priest for the Romish Church," in A. D. 1805, Giovanni Finati's name appeared in the list of Italian conscripts. After a few vain struggles with fate, he was marched to Milan, drilled, and trained; the next year his division was ordered to the Tyrol, where the young man, "brought up for the church," instantly deserted. Discovered in his native town, he was sent under circumstances of suitable indignity to join his regiment at Venice, where a general act of grace, promulgated on occasion of Napoleon's short visit, preserved him from a platoon of infantry. His next move was to Spalatro in Dalmatia, where he marched under General Marmont to Cattaro, the last retreat of the hardy and warlike Montenegrins. At Budoa, a sea-port S.E. of Ragusa, having consulted an Albanian "captain-merchant," Giovanni Finati, and

fifteen other Italians — "including the sergeant's wife," swore fidelity to one another, and deserted with all their arms and accoutrements. They passed into the Albanese territory, and were hospitably treated as "soldiers, who had deserted from the infidel army in Dalmatia," by the Pacha, posted at Antivari to keep check upon the French operations. At first they were lodged in the mosque, and the sergeant's wife had been set apart from the rest; but as they refused to apostatise they were made common slaves, and worked at the quarries till their "backs were sore." Under these circumstances, the sergeant discovering and promulgating his discovery that "the Mahometans believe as we do in a god; and upon examination that we might find the differences from our mother church to be less than we had imagined,"— all at once came the determination of *professing* to be Mahomedans. Our Italian Candide took the name of Mahomet, and became pipe-bearer to a Turkish general officer in the garrison. This young man trusted the deserter to such an extent that the doors of the Harem were open to him*, and Giovanni Finati repaid his kindness by seducing Fatimah, a Georgian girl, his master's favourite wife. The garrison then removed to Scutari. Being of course hated by his fellow servants, the renegade at last fell into disgrace, and exchanging the pipe-stick for the hatchet, he became a hewer of wood. This degradation did not diminish poor Fatimah's affection: she continued

* He describes the Harem as containing "the females of different countries, all of them young, and all more or less attractive, and the merriest creatures I ever saw." His narration proves that affection and fidelity were not wanting there.

to visit him, and to leave little presents and tokens for him in his room. But presently the girl proved likely to become a mother, — their intercourse was more than suspected,—Giovanni Finati had a dread of circumcision*, so he came to the felon resolution of flying alone from Scutari. He happened to meet his "original friend the captain-merchant," and in March 1809 obtained from him a passage to Egypt, the El Dorado to which all poverty-struck Albanian adventurers were then flocking. At Alexandria the new Mahomet, after twice deserting from a Christian service, at the risk of life and honour, voluntarily enlisted as an Albanian private soldier in a Moslem land; the *naïveté* with which he admires and comments upon his conduct is a curious moral phenomenon. Thence he proceeded to Cairo, and became a "Belik bash" (corporal), in charge of six Albanian privates, of Mohammed Ali's body-guard. Ensued a campaign against the Mamelukes in Upper Egypt, and his being present at the massacre of those miscreants in the citadel of Cairo,— he confined his part in the affair to plundering from the Beys a "saddle richly mounted in silver gilt," and a slave girl with trinkets and money. He married the captive, and was stationed for six months at Matariyah (Heliopolis), with the force preparing to march upon Mecca, under

* Mr. Bankes, Finati's employer and translator, here comments upon Ali Bey's assertion, "Even to travellers in Mahometan countries, I look upon the safety of their journey as almost impossible, unless they have previously submitted to the rite." Ali Bey is correct; the darger is doubled by non-compliance with the custom. Mr. Bankes apprehends that "very few renegadoes do submit to it." In bigoted Moslem countries, it is considered a *sine quâ non*.

Tussum Pacha. Here he suffered from thieves, and shot by mistake his Bim Bashi or sergeant, who was engaged in the unwonted and dangerous exercise of prayer in the dark. The affair was compromised by the amiable young commander-in-chief, who paid the blood money amounting to some thousand piastres. On the sixth October, 1811, the army started for Suez, where eighteen vessels waited to convey them to Yambu. Mahomet assisted at the capture of that port, and was fortunate enough to escape alive from the desperate action of Jadaydah.* Rheumatism obliged him to return to Cairo, where he began by divorcing his wife for great levity of conduct. In the early part of 1814, Mahomet, inspired by the news of Mohammed Ali Pacha's success in El Hejaz, joined a reinforcement of Albanians, travelled to Suez, touched at Yambu and Jeddah, assisted at the siege and capture of Kunfudah, and was present at its recapture by the Wahhabees. Wounded, sick, harassed by the Bedouins, and disgusted by his commanding officer, he determined to desert again, adding, as an excuse, "not that the step, on my part at least, had the character of a complete desertion, since I intended to join the main body of the army;" and to his mania for desertion we owe the following particulars concerning the city of Mecca.

"Exulting in my escape, my mind was in a state to receive very strong impressions, and I was much struck with all I saw upon entering the city; for though it is neither large nor beautiful in itself, there is something in it that is calculated to impress a sort of awe, and it was

* See Chap. XIII. of this work.

the hour of noon when every thing is very silent, except the Muezzins calling from the minarets.

* * * * * *

"The principal feature of the city is that celebrated sacred enclosure which is placed about the centre of it; it is a vast paved court with doorways opening into it from every side, and with a covered colonnade carried all round like a cloister, while in the midst of the open space stands the edifice called the Caaba, whose walls are entirely covered over on the outside with hangings of rich velvet*, on which there are Arabic inscriptions embroidered in gold.

"Facing one of its angles (for this little edifice is of a square form)†, there is a well which is called the well Zemzem, of which the water is considered so peculiarly holy that some of it is even sent annually to the Sultan at Constantinople; and no person who comes to Meccah, whether on pilgrimage or for mere worldly considerations, ever fails both to drink of it and to use it in his ablutions, since it is supposed to wipe out the stain of all past transgressions.

"There is a stone also near the bottom of the building itself which all the visitants kiss as they pass round it, and the multitude of them has been so prodigious as to have worn the surface quite away.

* "Black cloth, according to Ali Bey; and I believe he is correct." So Mr. Bankes. If Ali Bey meant broad-cloth, both are in error, as the specimen in my possession—a mixture of silk and cotton—proves.

† Ali Bey showed by his measurements that no two sides correspond exactly. To all appearance the sides are equal, though it is certain they are not; the height exceeds the length and the breadth.

"Quite detached, but fronting to the Caaba, stand four pavilions (corresponding to the four sects of the Mahometan religion), adapted for the pilgrims; and though the concourse had of late years been from time to time much interrupted, there arrived just when I came to Meccah two caravans of them, one Asiatic and one from the African side, amounting to not less than about 40,000 persons, who all seemed to be full of reverence towards the holy place." *

After commenting on the crowded state of the city, the lodging of pilgrims in tents and huts, or on the bare ground outside the walls †, and the extravagant prices of provisions, Haji Mahomet proceeds with his description.

"Over and above the general ceremonies of the purification at the well, and of the kissing of the corner-stone ‡, and of the walking round the Caaba a certain number of times in a devout manner, every one has also his own separate prayer to put up, and so to fulfil the conditions of his vow and the objects of his particular pilgrimage."

We have then an account of the mosque-pigeons, for whom it is said, "some pilgrims bring with them even

* Ali Bey (A.D. 1807) computes 80,000 men, 2,000 women, and 1,000 children at Arafât. Burckhardt (A.D. 1814) calculated it at 70,000. I do not think that in all there were more than 50,000 souls assembled together in 1853.

† Rich pilgrims always secure lodgings; the poorer class cannot afford them; therefore, the great caravans from Egypt, Damascus, Bagdad, and other places, pitch on certain spots outside the city.

‡ An incorrect expression; the stone is fixed in a massive gold or silver gilt circle to the S.E. angle, but it is not part of the building.

from the most remote countries a small quantity of grain, with which they may take the opportunity of feeding these birds." This may have occurred in times of scarcity; the grain is now sold in the mosque.

"The superstitions and ceremonies of the place," we are told, "are by no means completed within the city, for the pilgrims, after having performed their devotions for a certain time at the Caaba, at last in a sort of procession go to a place called Arafat, an eminence which stands detached in the centre of a valley; and in the way thither there is a part of the road for about the space of a mile where it is customary to run.* The road also passes near a spot where was formerly a well which is superstitiously supposed to be something unholy and cursed by the Prophet himself. And for this reason, every pilgrim as he goes by it throws a stone; and the custom is so universal and has prevailed so long that none can be picked up in the neighbourhood, and it is necessary therefore to provide them from a distance, and some persons even bring them out of their own remote countries, thinking thereby to gain the greater favour in the sight of Heaven."†

'Bnyeod this point stands a column‡, which is set

* Ali Bey is correct in stating that the running is on the return from Arafat, directly after sunset.

† This sentence abounds in blunders. Sale, Ali Bey, and Burckhardt, all give correct accounts of the little pillar of masonry—it has nothing to do with the well—which denotes the place where Satan appeared to Abraham. The pilgrims do not throw one stone, but many. The pebbles are partly brought from Muzdalifah, partly from the valley of Muna, in which stands the pillar.

‡ Mr. Bankes confounds this column with the Devil's Pillar at Muna. Finati alludes to the landmarks of the Arafat plain, now

up as the extreme limit of the pilgrimage, and this every pilgrim must have passed before sunrise; while all such as have not gone beyond it by that time must wait till the next year, if they wish to be entitled to the consideration and privileges of complete Hajis, since, without this circumstance, all the rest remains imperfect."

"The hill of Arafat lying at a distance of seven hours from Meccah, it is necessary to set out very early in order to be there in time; many of the pilgrims, and especially the more devout amongst them, performing all the way, on foot."

"When they have reached the place * all who have any money according to their means sacrifice a sheep, and the rich often furnish those who are poor and destitute with the means of buying one."

"Such a quantity of sacrifices quite fills the whole open space with victims, and the poor flock from all the country round to have meat distributed to them."

"After which, at the conclusion of the whole ceremony, all the names are registered by a scribe appointed for the purpose †; and when this is finished the African and Asiatic caravans part company and return to their own several countries, many detachments of the pilgrims visiting Medinah in the way."

called El Alamain (the two marks). The pilgrims must stand within these boundaries on a certain day (the 9th of Zu'l Hijjah), otherwise he has failed to observe a rital ordinance.

* He appears to confound the proper place with Arafat. The sacrifice is performed in the valley of Muna, after leaving the mountain. But Finati, we are told by his translator, wrote from memory—a pernicious practice for a traveller.

† This custom is now obsolete, as regards the grand body of pilgrims. Anciently, a certificate from the Sherif was given to all

Being desirous of being enrolled in some new division of Mohammed Ali's army, Finati overcame the difficulty of personal access to him by getting a memorial written in Turkish and standing at the window of a house joined on to the enclosure of the great temple. After the sixth day the Pacha observed him, and in the "greatest rage imaginable" desired a detailed account of the defeat at Kunfudah. Finati then received five hundred piastres and an order to join a corps at Taif, together with a strict charge of secresy, "since it was of importance that no reverse or check should be generally talked of." Before starting our author adds some "singular particulars" which escaped him in his account of Meccah.

"Many of the pilgrims go through the ceremony of walking the entire circuit of the city upon the outside; and the order in which this is performed is as follows. The devoted first goes without the gates, and, after presenting himself there to the religious officer who presides, throws off all his clothes, and takes a sort of large wrapping garment in lieu of them to cover himself; upon which he sets off walking at a very quick pace, or rather running, to reach the nearest of the four corners of the city, a sort of guide going with him at the same rate all the way, who prompts certain ejaculations or

who could afford money for a proof of having performed the pilgrimage, but no such practice at present exists. My friends have frequently asked me, what proof there is of a Moslem's having become a Haji. None whatever; consequently impostors abound. Saadi, in the Gulistan, notices a case. But the ceremonies of the Hajj are so complicated and unintelligible by mere description, that a little cross-questioning applied to the false Haji would easily detect him.

prayers, which he ought to mention at particular spots as he passes; at every angle he finds a barber, who with wonderful quickness wets and shaves one quarter of his head, and so on; till he has reached the barber at the fourth angle, who completes the work. After which the pilgrim takes his clothes again, and has finished that act of devotion." *

"There is also near the holy city an eminence called the hill of light †, as I imagine from its remarkable whiteness. Upon this the pilgrims have a custom of leaping while they repeat at the same time prayers and verses of the Koran. Many also resort to a lesser hill, about a mile distant from the city, on which there is a small mosque, which is reputed as a place of great sanctity.

"An annual ceremony takes place in the great temple itself which is worth mentioning before I quit the subject altogether."

"I have already spoken of the little square building whose walls are covered with hangings of black and gold, and which is called the Caaba. Once in the year ‡, and once only, this holy of holies is opened,

* No wonder that Mr. Bankes is somewhat puzzled by this passage. Certainly none but a pilgrim could guess that the author refers to the rites called El Umrah and El Sai, or the running between Mounts Safa and Marwah. The curious reader may compare the above with Burckhardt's correct description of the ceremonies. As regards the shaving, Finati possibly was right in his day; in Ali Bey's, as in my time, the head was only shaved once, and a few strokes of the razor sufficed for the purpose of religious tonsure.

† Jebel Nur, anciently Hira, is a dull grey as of granite; it derives its modern name from the spiritual light of religion. Circumstances prevented my ascending it, so I cannot comment upon Finati's "custom of leaping."

‡ Open three days in the year, according to Ali Bey, the same

and as there is nothing to prevent admission it appears surprising at first to see so few who are willing to go into the interior, and especially since this act is supposed to have great efficacy in the remission of all past sins. But the reason must be sought for in the conditions which are annexed, since he who enters is, in the first place, bound to exercise no gainful pursuit or trade, nor to work for his livelihood in any way whatever; and, next, he must submit patiently to all offences and injuries, and must never again touch anything that is impure or unholy." †

* * * * * *

"One more remark with reference to the great scene of sacrifice at Arafat. Though the Pasha's power in Arabia had been now for some time established, yet it was not complete or universal by any means—the Wahhabees still retaining upon many sides a very considerable footing, so that open and unpro-

in Burckhardt's, and in my time. Besides these public occasions, private largesses can always turn the key.

† I heard from good authority, that the Kaabah is never opened without several pilgrims being crushed to death. Ali Bey (remarks Mr. Bankes) says nothing of the supposed conditions annexed. In my next volume I shall give them, as I received them from the lips of learned and respectable Moslems. They differ considerably from Finati's, and no wonder; his account is completely opposed to the strong good sense which pervades the customs of El Islam. As regards his sneer at the monastic orders in Italy—that the conditions of entering are stricter and more binding than those of the Kaabah, yet that numbers are ready to profess in them—it must not be imagined that Arab human nature differs very materially from Italian. Many unworthy feet pass the threshold of the Kaabah; but there are many Moslems, my friend, Umar Effendi, for instance, who have performed the pilgrimage a dozen times, and would never, from conscientious motives, enter the holy edifice.

tected places, even within half a day's journey of Meccah, might be liable to surprise and violence."

For these reasons, our author informs us, a sufficient force was disposed round Arafat, and the prodigious multitude went and returned without molestation or insult.*

After the pilgrimage Haji Mahomet repaired to Tayf. On the road he remarked a phenomenon observable in El Hejaz—the lightness of the nights there. Finati attributes it to the southern position of the place. But, observing a perceptible twilight there, I was forced to seek further cause. May not the absence of vegetation, and the heat-absorbing nature of the soil,—granite, quartz, and basalt,—account for the phenomenon?† The natives as usual, observing it, have invested its origin with the garb of fable.

It is not my intention to accompany Mohamet to the shameful defeat of Taraba, where Tussun Pacha lost three quarters of his army, or to the glorious victory of Bissil, where Mohammed Ali on the 10th Jan.

* In 1807, according to Ali Bey, the Wahhabees took the same precaution, says Mr. Bankes. The fact is, some such precautions must always be taken. The pilgrims are forbidden to quarrel, to fight, or to destroy life, except under circumstances duly provided for. Moreover, as I shall explain in another part of this work, it was of old, and still is, the custom of the fiercer kind of Bedouins to flock to Arafat—where the victim is sure to be found—for the purpose of revenging their blood-losses. As our authorities at Aden well know, there cannot be a congregation of different Arab tribes without a little murder. After fighting with the common foe, or if unable to fight with him, the wild men invariably turn their swords against their private enemies.

† So, on the wild and tree-clad heights of the Neilgherry hills, despite the brilliance of the stars, every traveller remarks the darkness of the atmosphere at night.

1815 broke 24,000 Wahhabees commanded by Faysal ben Saud. His account of this interesting campaign is not full or accurate like Mengin's; still, being the tale of an eye-witness, it attracts attention. Nothing can be more graphic than his picture of the old conqueror sitting with exulting countenance upon the carpet where he had vowed to await death or victory, and surrounded by heaps of enemies' heads.*

Still less would it be to the purpose to describe the latter details of Haji Mohamet's career, his return to Cairo, his accompanying Mr. Bankes to upper Egypt and Syria, and his various trips to Aleppo, Kurdistan, the Said, the great Oasis, Nabathæa, Sennaar, and Dongola. We concede to him the praise claimed by his translator, that he was a traveller to no ordinary extent; but beyond this we cannot go. He was so ignorant that he had forgotten to write †; his curiosity and his powers of observation keep pace with his knowledge ‡; his moral character as it appears in print

* Mohammed Ali gave six dollars for every Arab head, which fact accounts for the heaps that surrounded him. One would suppose that when acting against an enemy, so quick and agile as the Arabs, such an order would be an unwise one. Experience, however, proves the contrary.

† "Finati's long disuse of European writing," says Mr. Bankes, "made him very slow with his pen." Fortunately, he found in London some person who took down the story in easy, unaffected, and not inelegant Italian. In 1828, Mr. Bankes translated it into English, securing accuracy by consulting the author, when necessary.

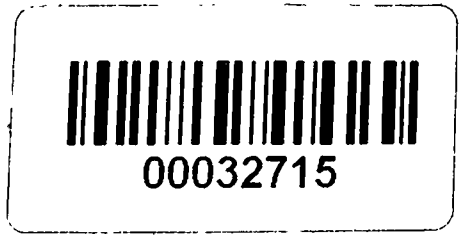
‡ His translator and editor is obliged to explain that he means Cufic, by "characters that are not now in use," and the statue of Memnon by "one of two enormous sitting figures in the plain, from which, according to an old story or superstition, a sound proceeds when the sun rises." When the crew of his Nile-boat

is of that description which knows no sense of shame: it is not candour but sheer insensibility which makes him relate circumstantially his repeated desertions, his betrayal of Fatimah, and his various plunderings.

"form in circle upon the bank, and perform a sort of religious mummery, shaking their heads and shoulders violently, and uttering a hoarse sobbing or barking noise, till some of them would drop or fall into convulsions,"—a sight likely to excite the curiosity of most men—he "takes his gun in pursuit of wild geese." He allowed Mr. Bankes' mare to eat Oleander leaves, and thus to die of the commonest poison. Briefly, he seems to have been a man who, under favourable circumstances, learned as little as possible.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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